

Pat 4 Ec 2
R E M A I N S

O F

CHRISTIAN ANTIQUITY.

W I T H

EXPLANATORY NOTES,

by

Sw David Dalrymple, Bar^t

ΤΩΝ ΤΕ ΓΑΡ Ο ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ,
ΤΟΤΟΤΕ ΘΕΟΣ ΕΙΠΕ ΚΟΜΙΖΕΙΝ.

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T O

THOMAS BALGUY, D.D.

THESE REMAINS

OF CHRISTIAN ANTIQUITY

ARE AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED

B Y

THE EDITOR.

THE EDITOR

P R E F A C E.

THE History of the Martyrs in Palestine, translated from the original of Eusebius, is the subject of this last volume of Remains of Christian Antiquity.

It was in the long and severe persecution, begun by Diocletian, and carried on by his successors, that those martyrs suffered. Eusebius was himself an eye-witness of many of the incidents concerning them which he relates, and the credibility of his relation will stand the test of sober and dispassionate criticism.

Were

Were I at freedom to speak of the assistance afforded to me, I might, perhaps, commend this translation, without any other vanity than that which proceeds from the consciousness of possessing the friendship of virtuous and learned men.

I am always ready, on the slightest notice, to acknowledge, and to correct, any mistakes that my friends may have overlooked.

The notes arise naturally from the subject, and are intended to illustrate the History of the Martyrs, and to justify from rash censures the character of their Historian.

O F T H E
M A R T Y R S
I N
P A L E S T I N E.

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

IN the nineteenth year of the Emperor DIOCLETIAN, while FLAVIAN was governor of Palestine, in the month Xanthicus, called *April* by the Romans, and at the approach of the annual commemoration of the passion of our Saviour, Imperial edicts
A were

were every where displayed, ordaining the churches to be razed to their foundations, the books of the Holy Scriptures to be burnt, the brethren who had borne offices of honour to be degraded, and those of inferior stations, if they persisted in their avowal of Christianity, to be made slaves. Such was the import of the first edict promulgated against us.

Shortly after, there arrived other edicts, ordaining, that all who any where presided in the church should be imprisoned; and then, that they should, by every means, be compelled to sacrifice.

CHAP-

CHAPTER I.

THE first of the martyrs of Palestine was PROCOPIUS. He, without having been imprisoned, was at once set before the tribunal of the governor : and when he was commanded to offer incense to those who are called gods, he made answer, " I know no God " save one, and to him alone it is " fitting that men, after the way " which he wills, should offer sacrifice." When he was commanded to make libations to the four emperors, he answered, in the words of the poet, " The dominion of many rulers is not " good ; let there be one ruler, one " king." These words were most unpleasing to the hearers, and he was

forthwith beheaded. This happened on the eighth day of the month Desius, or, according to the Roman computation, on the seventh of the ides of June, and on the fourth day of the week. Such was the first martyrdom at Cæsarea of Palestine.

After the death of Procopius, in the same city of Cæsarea many rulers of the neighbouring churches, having cheerfully endured severe tortures, exhibited to beholders the spectacle of mighty and well-sustained combats for the faith : but there were others, who, through faint-heartedness, yielded at the first onset. They who persevered had trial of torments in every shape : they were scourged with numberless stripes, they were racked, and they had the flesh torn off their sides ; and some
lost

lost the use of their hands by the weight and intolerable pressure of manacles : yet they all submissively underwent whatever had been appointed by HIM “ whose ways are past finding out.”

One person they seized upon, and taking hold of his hands, led him up to the altar, where they threw the impure and abominable incense on his right hand, and then dismissed him, as if he had indeed sacrificed.

Another did not touch the incense at all, but the bystanders having reported that he had sacrificed, he kept silence, and departed.

Another, being taken up half-dead, was thrown down again as really dead, and was unchained : him also they accounted among the sacrificers.

One, loudly protesting that he would
not

not comply, received a blow on the mouth, was forcibly silenced by a number of men employed to that end, and was driven away from the tribunal, although he had not sacrificed in any sort: so that the very appearance of having accomplished their purposes was held important. And hence it happened, that of the many persons brought at that time before the Heathen tribunal, two only, ALPHEIUS and ZACCHEUS, were honoured with the crown of the holy martyrs.

These men endured scourgings, and the tearing of their flesh with iron claws; they were loaded with grievous chains, and suffered many and varied tortures: their legs, in particular, were cruelly distended for a whole day and a whole night. At length, after having professed

fed

fed their faith in the one God, and the one Christ, Jesus the King, they, as if they had uttered blasphemy, were, like the first martyr Procopius, beheaded. This was done on the seventeenth day of the month Dios, or, according to the Roman computation, on the fifteenth of the kalends of December.

C H A P. II.

THAT also which was done to ROMANUS at Antioch, on the same day, deserves to be remembered. Romanus, a native of Palestine, and a deacon and exorcist of the church of Cæsarea, chanced to be in Antioch at the time of the demolition of the churches; and when he beheld a multitude of men,
and

and women, and children, crouding into the idol-temples, and offering sacrifice, he could not endure the sight ; but, zealous for religion, he approached, and, with a loud voice, rebuked them. Having been taken into custody for this boldness, he distinguished himself as a most resolute witness of the truth : for when the judge condemned him to be burnt alive, he received the sentence with a chearful countenance, and great alacrity of spirit. They fastened him to the stake, and the wood was collected around him ; and when those who were to light it waited the signal from the Emperor, *there* present, Romanus cried, “ Where is my fire ? ” On account of those words he was called before the Emperor, to be punished after an unusual way, by having his
tongue

tongue cut out. This he manfully endured ; and in his whole demeanour he shewed, that with them who suffer for godliness sake the divine power is present, to lighten their pains, and to give strength to their resolution. For this brave man, understanding the new manner in which he was to be tormented, of his own accord thrust out his tongue, and willingly offered it to those who were to cut it out: this punishment having been inflicted, he was cast into prison, and there he underwent a tedious and severe confinement ; and when at length the festival approached for celebrating the commencement of the twentieth year of the Emperor Diocletian, and liberty was proclaimed every where to all prisoners, according to established custom, Romanus

B

alone

alone was not released, but while under torture he was strangled, and so became adorned with that martyrdom for which he had vehemently longed. As a native of Palestine he deserves to be numbered among the martyrs of that country, although it was in another province that he suffered.

Such were the events of the first year, during which the persecution was confined to men of the ecclesiastical order.

C H A P. III.

BUT in the second year the battle waxed more fierce with us. While URBANUS governed the province, there arrived an Imperial mandate, containing a general order, that all
men

men in each city should join in sacrifice and libation to the idols. Then it was that at Gaza, a city of Palestine, TIMOTHEUS, after having sustained innumerable tortures, was stifled in smoke. By his steady patience under all, he thoroughly approved himself a sincere worshipper of God, and he bore away the garland allotted for the holy and victorious champions of the faith.

AGAPIUS and THECLA, the Thecla of our times, having emulated the magnanimous constancy of Timotheus, received judgement to be devoured of wild beasts.

As to the things which ensued, what spectator was there who did not behold them with amazement? And

did any one hear the account of them without being astonished ?

For while the Heathens were celebrating their general festival, and were partaking of the accustomed shews, there came a rumour, that, besides their favourite entertainments, a combat of the lately condemned Christians with wild beasts would be exhibited. This rumour having increased, and prevailed more and more, six young men made their appearance; TIMOLAUS, of Pontus; DIONYSIUS, of Tripolis in Palestine; ROMULUS, a subdeacon of the church at Diospolis; two Egyptians, PAUSIS and ALEXANDER; and another ALEXANDER, a native of Gaza. These young men, having first bound their hands in token of their eager desires after martyrdom, ran with
all

all speed, and presented themselves before Urbanus the governor just as he was entering the amphitheatre, and openly professed themselves to be Christians. They shewed that they were prepared to endure every thing dreadful, and that the being exposed to wild beasts was no terror to those who worship THE GOD OVER ALL. Their behaviour greatly astonished the governor and his attendants. They were imprisoned, and not many days after, two others were added to their company; AGAPIUS, who for confessing the faith had already suffered various and cruel tortures; and DIONYSIUS, who supplied the prisoners with necessaries. All these eight were beheaded on one day, the twenty-fourth of the month
Dystrus,

Dystrus, that is, on the ninth of the kalends of April.

About that time there ensued a change in the Roman government; for the presiding Emperor, and he who was next in dignity, retired to the rank of private men. Henceforward the state of the public became distempered; the empire was divided against itself, and implacable wars arose: neither were these dissensions and tumults quieted, until the restoration of peace to the Christians throughout the dominions of Rome. When *that* peace shone forth as from amidst clouds and tempestuous darkness, the commonweal was instantly established in concord and harmony, and ancient good-will again prevailed. — But reserving a more ample recital of those things to their proper

proper time, let us now go on with the orderly course of our narration.

C H A P. IV.

MAXIMIN CÆSAR, immediately on his accession to authority, as if he had meant to display to all mankind his impious dispositions, and his innate enmity towards God, engaged with more violence than any who had gone before him, in persecuting us.

Then, when there arose no small confusion among the brethren, and when they were scattered abroad, and every one strove to avoid the persecution, and the alarm was spread over all the provinces, what language is there capable of describing the love of God, and the resolute confession of that
blessed

bleſſed and innocent lamb, APPHIANUS
the Martyr ?

Who lay expoſed before the gates of
Cæſarea, a ſpectacle to all the inhabit-
ants, and an amazing example of reli-
gious duty to the one God.

Apphianus had not yet attained to
his twentieth year. Being of an opu-
lent family, he proſecuted, at Berytus,
 thoſe ſtudies in Grecian literature,
which, with us, qualify men for civil
employments. During his long reſi-
dence at Berytus, it is incredible how
much his mind was elevated above e-
very juvenile pleaſure. Not allowing
himſelf to be corrupted by the temp-
tations of youth, or the example of his
companions, but making ſelf-govern-
ment and temperance his choice, he
lived under continual diſcipline. Hence
his

his whole demeanour was decent, comely, and devout, and agreeable to the Christian institutions.

Araxa, no mean city in Lycia, had the renown of giving birth to this brave young champion for the right worship of God. Having completed his studies at Berytus, he returned to his native country, where, at that time, his father held the most eminent rank. But Apphianus brooked not the society of his father, and the rest of his kindred; for they chose to live after another sort than the precepts of godliness require; wherefore, as if impelled by a divine inspiration, and under the influence of an innate, or rather supernatural and divine, love of true wisdom, and aiming at something greater than the participation of the

C . honours

honours of this world, and abhorring the enjoyments of sense, he secretly withdrew himself from the habitation of his parents : full of hope and confidence in God, he made no provision for daily necessaries ; and the Holy Spirit led him to the city of Cæsarea ; where there was prepared for him the garland of martyrdom in the cause of religion. At Cæsarea he was much with me : and although for a short time only, yet he bestowed it all with intense application in studying the holy scriptures, and, by fit exercises, in strengthening himself for whatever trial might ensue. Then as to the concluding scene,—did not his behaviour astonish every eye-witness ? And who is there that can hear it related, and not admire his resolution, and confidence,

confidence, and perseverance, and, above all, the boldness of his enterprise? Indeed they exhibited evident proofs of a true zeal for religion, and a spirit more than human.

It was in the third year of our persecution, that Maximin renewed his assaults on us. Then the edicts of the tyrant were every where published, ordaining all men to sacrifice, and requiring the magistrates of all cities carefully and diligently to enforce universal obedience; and the heralds, passing throughout the streets of Cæsarea, summoned all men, together with their wives and children, to repair to the idol-houses, as the Governor had commanded; and the military tribunes read out the name of every one from a roll.

At this sudden whirlwind of calamities our consternation was unutterable.

But Apphianus, concealing his purpose even from me, who dwelt with him, eluded the vigilance of the surrounding guards, and undauntedly approached Urbanus, who was about to make libation. He laid hold on his right hand, and staid him from sacrificing; and with a certain divine gravity, and composure of speech, well and wisely counselled him, saying, " Cease from delusion ; for it is not
 " seemly, that men, abandoning the
 " one and only God, should sacrifice
 " unto images and dæmons."

Herein this youth appears to have been under the influence of some heavenly power ; calling out, by this example,

example, on all who are Christians indeed, not only to persevere in the right worship, and to despise every fear of tortures, whether inflicted or threatened, but also to be more and more emboldened, to use a generous and intrepid freedom of speech, and even to exhort their persecutors themselves, that, putting off ignorance, they acknowledge the one true God.

For his bold attempt, Apphianus was immediately torn by the attendants of the Governor, as by wild beasts; and, after having patiently received very many wounds in divers parts of his body, he was cast into prison, and during a whole night and a whole day he remained with his feet distended in an engine of torture. On the following day he was brought before the judge;

judge; and while they attempted to constrain him to sacrifice, he displayed invincible fortitude, amidst sufferings at which human nature shudders. Not once or twice only, but often times, he had the flesh of his sides torn off to the bones and intestines; by numerous blows on his face and neck, he became so swollen and disfigured, that even his most intimate acquaintance could no longer know him; and when, notwithstanding all this, he would not yield, his tormentors, by command of the Governor, steeped linen in oil, wrapped it about his feet, and set it on fire. In my judgement, there are no words capable of describing the pain which he then felt; for the fire devoured his flesh, and entered into his bones; so that the whole moisture of
his

his body melted away, like wax, drop by drop.

The adversaries, thus foiled, began to despair of success in repeating their attempts against fortitude more than human. Then was Apphianus once more imprisoned; and on the third day he was brought before the judge; and having persisted in the profession of his faith, he was thrown, already half-dead, into the midst of the sea.

I doubt not that ~~the~~ the things which ensued will appear incredible to every one, excepting eye-witnesses; yet must I needs record them; and *this* the rather, because almost the whole inhabitants of Cæsarea, young and old, beheld the astonishing sight.

When the Heathens imagined, that they had sunk this holy and most blessed

ed youth in the unfathomable deep, at once there arose a mighty noise; and the sea and the air were agitated; and the whole city of Cæsarea, and the neighbouring country, trembled; and at this sudden and strange shock, the sea, as if unable to bear the corpse of the divine martyr, cast it out before the gates of the city.

These things happened to the admirable Apphianus on the second day of the month Xanthicus, or on the fourth of the nones of April, in the afternoon of the sixth day of the week.

CHAP.

C H A P. V.

MUCH about the same time, at the city of Tyre, a youth named ULPIANUS, after having been cruelly beaten and scourged, was sewed up in a bull's hide, with a dog, and an aspic, that venomous reptile, and thrown into the sea; and therefore, in speaking of the martyrdom of Apphianus, I judge it proper to remember *him* also.

Not long after this, ÆDESIUS was put to death. Apphianus and he had the same father; in a religious sense, as well as according to the flesh, they were brothers: they were brothers also in sufferings; for Ædesius, after having made frequent confessions of his faith, and after having long endured

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the affliction of bonds, was condemned by the sentence of the Governor to the mines of Palestine.

During all this he maintained the discipline, and used the habit, of a philosopher ; for he had received more perfect education than his brother, and had been carried forward to the studies of philosophy.

Ædesius at length came to the city of Alexandria. *There* he saw the judge sitting on the trial of the Christians, and transgressing the bounds of decency and moderation ; at one time contumeliously treating men of respect, and at another delivering matrons of distinguished chastity, and virgins who had devoted themselves to religious meditation and a single life, unto the hands of the keepers of brothels, to
be

be shamefully abused. These things appeared intolerable to Ædesius. He undertook to imitate his brother; and, exhibiting undaunted presence of mind, went up to the judge, and by deeds as well as words covered him with shame and dishonour. After this he resolutely endured many torments in divers shapes; and, having been thrown into the sea, had a like end as his brother.

In this manner did Ædesius suffer and die, although, as I have already observed, at some distance of time after the sufferings and death of Apphianus.

C H A P. VI.

MOREOVER, in the fourth year of our persecution, on the twelfth of the kalends of December, or the twentieth day of the month Dins, on the day before the sabbath, and at the same city of Cæsarea, there occurred an event which is well worthy of being committed to writing. The tyrant Maximin himself was then present, being occupied in the exhibition of public shews to the multitude, on account of what was called the anniversary of his birth.

It was an antient custom, to exhibit public shews with singular magnificence whenever the Emperors were present, and to enhance the pleasure of
the

the entertainments by the diversity of new and strange sights, as well of animals, collected from India, Æthiopia, and other regions, as of men whose skilful feats of activity excited wonder and delight in the beholders. As, therefore, on this occasion the Emperor gave the shews, and was himself present, it behoved that something extraordinary should be added to the entertainments. And what was it? A martyr for our faith was brought out to combat for the only true religion.—It was Agapius, of whom mention has been lately made, as condemned, together with Thecla, to be devoured of wild beasts.

Thrice and oftener had this person been taken out of prison, and solemnly conducted to the stadium with malefactors ;

factors ; but the judge from time to time, either through pity, or from the hope of a change in his resolutions, had with menaces remanded him into confinement, and reserved him for other combats. He was now brought out again in presence of the Emperor, as if he had been purposely reserved for that occasion, that in him might be fulfilled the saying of our Saviour, which, through divine foreknowledge, he spake to his disciples, “ That they
 “ should be brought before kings for
 “ his testimony.”

Agapius is dragged into the midst of the stadium, together with a malefactor, one guilty, as was reported, of the murder of his lord. Then he, the murderer of his lord, after having been exposed to wild beasts, was esteemed

steemed a fit object of mercy and beneficence, much after the same manner as happened to Barabbas in the days of our Saviour. Wherefore the whole theatre resounded with shouts and applause, when the man defiled with blood was humanely preserved by the Emperor, and had honour and liberty conferred on him. But the champion of godliness was called up to the tyrant before execution of the sentence, and having been asked to renounce his professed faith, under promise of deliverance, he audibly testified, “ That
 “ standing accused for the religious
 “ worship of *God the Creator of all*,
 “ and not for any crime, he was ready
 “ to endure whatever might be inflicted
 “ ed on him, willingly, resolutely, and
 “ with joy.” And while he yet spake,
 he

he ran towards the bear let loose against him, and voluntarily delivered himself to be devoured. Still breathing, he was conveyed back to prison: on the second day he expired; and on the third, having had a weight fixed to his feet, he was sunk in the midst of the sea. After this sort was the martyrdom of Agapius.

C H A P. VII.

THE persecution having been continued unto the fifth year, on the second day of the month Xanthicus, or the fourth of the nones of April, on the Lord's day, on that day on which his resurrection is commemorated, THEODOSIA suffered martyrdom.

She

She was a virgin of Tyre, hardly eighteen years old, stedfast in the faith, and of manners most venerable.

There were certain men, prisoners for the confession of the kingdom of our Lord, who sat in the portico of the judgement-hall : unto them Theodosia repaired, to express her goodwill, and, as is likely, to request to be remembered by them when they should come into the presence of the Lord. On this, as if she had perpetrated something unhallowed, and impious, the soldiers seized her, and dragged her before the governor : and forthwith he, like one frantic, and more savage in his fury than a wild beast, caused her to be scourged in a cruel and most horrible manner, so that her sides and breasts were bared to the bone ; and

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she

she having endured all with a pleasant and rejoicing countenance, he commanded her, while yet breathing, to be cast into the sea. Then passing from her to the other confessors, he condemned them all to the copper-mines at Phæno, in Palestine.

After these events, on the fifth day of the month *Dius*, called by the Romans the *nones of November*, in the same city of Cæsarea, SILVANUS, who, while only a presbyter, had been a confessor, and presently after became honoured with the Episcopal office, was perfected through martyrdom.

The same judge also condemned to the mines at Phæno certain companions of Silvanus, after they had shewn most resolute constancy for godliness sake; but before the execution of this sentence,

sentence, he commanded that they should have their ankles seared with red-hot irons, and, in that manner, be maimed.

At the same time also he condemned to be burnt alive a person adorned by his confessions for the faith, oftentimes repeated. This was DOMNINUS, well known to all the inhabitants of Palestine for his extraordinary freedom in speech.

After these things, this fell deviser of mischief, this author of new experiments against the Christian religion, bethought himself of inflicting unheard-of punishments on the worshippers of God. He adjudged three Christians to box at the exhibition of public games; he exposed AUXENTIUS, a venerable and holy old man, to be devoured of wild beasts; others, who

had attained to the years of manhood, he made eunuchs, and then sent them to the mines of Phæno ; others again, after having severely tortured them, he shut up in prison. Of that number was PAMPHILUS, the most beloved of all my companions, and glorious for every virtue above all the martyrs among us.

Urbanus, after having made trial of the rhetorical abilities of Pamphilus, and of his knowledge in philosophy, sought to compel him to offer incense; and at length, when he perceived that Pamphilus would not, and made no account of menaces, becoming exasperated, he commanded him to be severely tortured.

This savage having in a manner gorged himself with the flesh of Pamphilus,

lus, eagerly and unremittingly torn from his sides by scarifying instruments, was foiled and abashed; and then he added him to the number of the confessors in prison. Thus furiously did Urbanus rage against the witnesses for Christ; and what recompence he shall hereafter receive by the judgement of God for his cruelty towards the saints, is to be easily discerned in those beginnings of punishment which he endured *here*.

No sooner had he thus presumed to afflict Pamphilus, than the Divine Vengeance suddenly came upon him, even while he bare rule. Him, who but yesterday gave judgement from an exalted tribunal, who was guarded by a military band, and who governed the whole province of Palestine; him, the

the friend and guest, and familiar companion of the tyrant, did the Divine Vengeance in one night make naked, a spectacle of contempt to the people that had honoured him as supreme magistrate, setting him forth as one miserable and mean-spirited, and uttering womanish complaints and supplications; and it appointed that very Maximin, who exceedingly loved him for what he had done unto us, and through whose favour Urbanus had become insolent, to be, even in the city of Cæsarea itself, his inexorable and most cruel judge; that very Maximin pronounced sentence of death against him, after he had endured much ignominy by reason of the crimes laid to his charge. Let this suffice to be said in passing; for whenever a fit opportunity

nity offers, I shall resume, at more leisure, the narrative of the catastrophe, and death of each of those ungodly persons, who were foremost to set themselves in array against us, and of Maximin himself, and of his counsellors.

C H A P. VIII.

THE tempest having persisted to blow against us even in the sixth year, already did a place in the district of Thebais contain a great multitude of persons who were confessors for godliness sake. The place, by reason of its quarries of porphyry, was named *Porphyrites*. From thence ninety-seven men, together with their wives, and
very

very young children, were conveyed to the governor of Palestine. After they had made open profession of their belief in the God of all things, and in Christ, Firmilianus, sent into Palestine as successor to Urbanus, pronounced sentence against them by virtue of an imperial mandate. He ordered the tendons of their left ankles to be burnt through, and their right eyes to be pierced with the point of a sword, and then with searing irons to be utterly consumed. This done, he delivered them over to be afflicted by toil and sufferings in the mines of Palestine. Neither were they the only persons, who, before mine own eyes, endured such things. A like lot befel the men of Palestine, who, as I lately shewed, had been condemned to the
profession

profession of public combatants. When they would neither partake of the daily pittance of food allowed by the Emperor, nor yet occupy themselves in the wonted exercises, information was given against them to the Imperial stewards, and they were set to be judged by Maximin himself; and after they had displayed intrepid perseverance in the confession of their faith, by resisting hunger, and by patience under stripes, they shared the condemnation of those already mentioned, and of some more confessors, who were added to them from the city of Cæsarea. And presently there ensued the apprehending of certain others, while assembled in the city of Gaza to hear the holy scriptures read. Of them some underwent the like sufferings, of eyes

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put

put out, and feet maimed ; and others experienced the more terrible torture of having the flesh of their sides torn off. Among them there was one, a female indeed, but of masculine spirit. She brooked not the denounced threatening of prostitution ; and having uttered some words against the tyrant, because he entrusted the government of the province to judges so brutal, she was first scourged, and then she was raised aloft by an engine, and her sides were torn : and while those appointed by the Governor incessantly, and with all their strength, urged on the tortures, another woman, who, like the former, had made choice of a virgin life, endured not the sight of deeds so pitiless savage and inhuman. Mean in her appearance she was, and in the eyes
of

of beholders exceedingly contemptible ; yet she had a spirit undaunted, and far elevated above what might have been looked for from her appearance. Amidst the crowd, she cried out to the judge, “ Wherefore dost thou thus “ savagely torment my sister ? ” herein surpassing those who for freedom [of speech] have been celebrated among the Greeks. Then the judge became more bitterly incensed, and he instantly commanded the woman to be seized. She is dragged before him : she signed herself with the venerable name of Christ. At first she was counselled by fair speeches to sacrifice ; but when she would not, she was forced towards the altar : then she, behaving like herself, and possessed of the same intrepidity of spirit as at the be-

ginning, steadily and boldly struck the altar with her heel, and overturned the things on the altar, with the fire which lay there. Whereupon the judge, exasperated after the manner of a beast of prey, first commanded that her sides should be torn by iron claws more severely than had been done to any others in time past, so that he seemed almost to desire to gorge himself with her raw flesh; and his madness having been satiated, he yoked her with the woman whom she had called her sister, and pronounced sentence of death by fire against them both. The former of the two was reported to be from the neighbourhood of Gaza; the latter, born at Cæsarea, a person well known, and her name VALENTINA.

But how can I relate as becometh,
that

that martyrdom which next ensued, that wherewith the most blessed PAULUS was honoured ? Having been condemned to death by a sentence pronounced when the two virgins were condemned, he requested a short respite from the executioner, who was preparing to behead him : and having obtained it, he first of all, with a clear and audible voice, directed his supplications to God, for *the united people*, that it would please him speedily to bestow freedom on them ; then he prayed for the gathering in of the Jews to God through Christ ; then he proceeded to pray for the like in behalf of the Samaritans ; and afterwards, that the nations who remain in error, and are ignorant of God, might come to the knowledge of him, and embrace
that

that which is indeed the right worship. Neither did he leave neglected the mixed multitude of those who stood around him. And after all these, how excellent and ineffable his meek and forgiving spirit ! he prayed for the judge who had sentenced him to die, and for the Emperors, and also for the person who was about to behead him ; and, in his hearing, and in the hearing of every one present, he besought the God of all things, that his own death might not be numbered among their offences. In this manner, and to this effect, he prayed, exciting almost the whole audience to lamentations and tears for him, as for one unjustly cut off. Yet Paulus made himself ready ; and having bared his neck, and yielded it to the stroke of the sword, he

he was adorned with divine martyrdom on the twenty-fifth day of the month Panemus, that is, on the *eighth of the kalends of August*. Such was the end of those martyrs. And not long after, one hundred and thirty admirable combatants for the confession of Christ, from the land of Egypt, having each had an eye put out, and a foot maimed, as had been done unto the others, were, by command of Maximin, condemned, and sent, some to the mines of Palestine, already mentioned, and others to the mines of Cilicia.

CHAP.

C H A P. IX.

WHEN, by so many manly actions of those noble-minded martyrs for Christ, the fire of persecution had begun to intermit, and, as it were, to be quenched in the blood of the saints; when rest and liberty were actually granted to those of Thebais, who, for the sake of our Lord, had toiled in the mines of that region, and we were about to breathe the pure air; he, who had obtained power to persecute, once more and anew, I know not through what impulse, became inflamed against the Christians; and straightway, by authority of Maximin, new edicts against us came abroad throughout the provinces; and the Presidents, and also the

the Prætorian Prefect, by mandates, and letters, and public advertisements, required the magistrates of every city, in execution of the Imperial orders, to rebuild, with all diligence, whatever idol-temples had fallen down, and to constrain all men, together with their wives and household, and even their infants at the breast, to sacrifice and make libation, and especially to taste of the sacrifices offered.

It was likewise provided, that every thing exposed to sale in the markets should be defiled with the sprinklings of sacrifices; and that persons should be appointed to sit at the entry of the public baths, to pollute with those abominations such as came *there* to cleanse their bodies.

On occasion of these things our peo-

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ple, as may well be imagined, were seized with exceeding solicitude ; and the Gentiles themselves blamed the proceedings against us, as wrong, and grievous beyond measure, and indeed insufferable. While this very great tempest was coming upon all every where, then it was that the divine power of our Saviour again breathed such courage into his own champions, that, even when no man commanded aught, or offered any violence, they, of their own accord, spurned at every thing threatened against them. Then it was that three of the faithful, having combined together, rushed into the presence of the Governor, as he was about to sacrifice, and with a loud voice cried, " Cease from delusion ; for there
 " is no other god besides him, the
 " Creator

“ Creator of all.” And having been asked, *who* they were, they resolutely confessed themselves Christians. At this Firmilianus became more exasperated, and, without waiting to inflict tortures, commanded them to be beheaded. One of them was a presbyter, called ANTONINUS; another, ZEBINAS, a native of Eleutheropolis; the name of the third was GERMANUS. Their execution happened on the thirteenth day of the month Dius, that is, *the ides of November*.

On the same day, a certain woman of Scythopolis, named ENNATHAS, adorned with the garland of virginity, became their fellow-traveller. She had no share in their enterprise; but she was seized, and dragged by force into the presence of the Governor. Already

had she undergone scourgings, and grievous contumely, which a tribune in her neighbourhood presumed to inflict on her without the knowledge of the superior magistrate. This tribune was called *Maxys* [*Publican*], a person of a nature worse than his name : a very stout man, but wicked withal, terrible in his behaviour, and become odious to all who knew him. Having stripped off the raiment of the blessed Ennathas, and made her bare from the loins upwards, he led her around Cæsarea ; and he thought it a mighty atchievement, when he caused her to be dragged along, and scourged in every public place of the city. And after all these things, and after she had shewn forth most intrepid constancy, even while standing at the supreme tribunal, the Governor

Governor pronounced sentence that she should be burnt alive. With augmented inhumanity in his madness against the godly, he transgressed even the dictates of nature itself, and was not ashamed to envy the rights of sepulture to the dead bodies of those holy persons; and therefore he commanded them to remain in the open air, and to be diligently guarded day and night as food for beasts: and for many days there was to be seen no small number of men employed in executing this savage and barbarous command; and they, as if it had been a matter of momentous concern, kept strict watch, lest any one should steal away the dead bodies, while wild animals and dogs, and the birds that prey on flesh, tore the human limbs to and fro; and all
around

around the city, there were strewed the intestines and bones of men; so that the sight was shocking, and full of horror, even to those who aforetime had enmity against us. They bewailed the opprobrium cast on their common nature, rather than the disaster of the persons themselves to whom such things were done: for just at the gates of the city there lay a spectacle exceeding every theme of declamation, and all that is heard in tragedies, the spectacle of human flesh devoured; and not in one place only, but diversely, scattered about; and there were also who affirmed, that they saw, even within the gates, some limbs and large pieces of flesh, and portions of intestines.

Many days having thus passed, there
ensued

ensued this wonderful event. While the sky was pure and bright, and an universal serenity prevailed in the firmament, on a sudden most of the pillars which upheld the porticoes in the city sent forth drops resembling tears, and, notwithstanding there had been no dew from the air, the market-places and the streets became wet, I know not how, as if besprinkled with water : and forthwith it was a saying repeated among all, That the earth wept in this inexplicable manner, as if it could not brook such impiety ; and that, to the reproach of men inexorable and void of sympathy, stones and inanimate matter mourned for the deeds which were done.

This relation, I doubt not, will be viewed in the light of a vain and idle tale,

tale, by those who come after us ; but not so by our contemporaries, to whom the recentness of the event vouches its reality.

C H A P. X.

AND again, on the fourteenth day of the month Appellæus, that is, on *the nineteenth of the kalends of January*, certain men from Egypt were seized by the guards posted at the gates to examine all passengers. It chanced that those men had gone forth to minister unto the confessors in Cilicia ; and some of them received judgement like that which had been pronounced against the persons for whose sake they came, having one eye put out, and one

one foot maimed : but three of their company in the city of Ascalon, where they were held in bonds, after displaying wonderful resolution, had their martyrdom variously completed. One, named ARES, was delivered over unto fire ; and the two others, PROMUS and ELIAS, were beheaded. This happened on the eleventh day of the month Audinæus, that is, on *the third of the ides of January*.

In the city of Cæfareæ, PETRUS ASCETES, otherwise called APSELAMUS, of the village of Aneas in the territory of Eleutheropolis, like gold which fire cannot impair, did, by his resolute language and behaviour, give proof of true faith in the Christ of God. He regarded not the judge and his attendants, who intreated him a
H thousand

thousand times to have compassion on himself, and to spare his prime of youth; and he esteemed rather that hope which is in *God over all*, than every thing else, even than life itself.—With him there suffered a certain man, named ASCLEPIUS, reported to have been a bishop after the error of Marcion, one moved by zeal for godliness, as he thought, but not by that zeal which is according to knowledge. They were, however, burnt in the same pile, and so departed this life. And thus did these things happen.

CHAP.

C H A P. XI.

BUT the order of events now invites me to relate the great and memorable spectacle of those who were perfected together with my best beloved PAMPHILUS. Being twelve in all, they had the honour, in their number, and in their graces, of resembling the prophets and apostles. Of them Pamphilus was the chief, and the only one adorned with the dignity of presbyter: a man he was distinguished in all the different parts of life for every virtue, for contempt of the world, for beneficence in imparting his goods to the needy, for the light account which he made of sublunary honours, and for his strict and philoso-

phical demeanour. But the qualities wherein he most eminently excelled were, his very singular diligence in the study of the divine oracles, and his devoted attachment to them; his indefatigable pains and alacrity in accomplishing whatever he undertook, and his officious services to those with whom he was connected, and to every one who approached him. Of whose other achievements in virtue, as requiring to be treated more at large, we have already delivered a special narrative in three books, which contain *Memorials of his life*; and, therefore, remitting to that work all persons who may be desirous of knowing those circumstances also, we content ourselves at present with following out the History of our Martyrs.

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He who, next after Pamphilus, advanced to the combat, was VALENS, a deacon of Ælia, an aged man, one held in honour for his hallowed gray hairs, and whose very appearance was most venerable; one above all others conversant in the divine writings; so that, when occasion offered, he could from memory repeat passages in any part of scripture as exactly as if he had unfolded the book and read them.

The third person that came to be distinguished among them was PAULUS, a native of Jamnia, a man most active in business, and fervent in spirit, who before his martyrdom had, as a confessor, proved victorious, by the patience with which he endured the searing of heated irons.

The immediate cause of the martyrdom

dom of those persons, after they had been confined in prison for two whole years, was a second arrival of Egyptian brethren, who also were perfected together with them. These brethren, after having convoyed the confessors of Cilicia to the mines in that country, set out on their return to their own homes : like the others, of whom we formerly spake, in their passage at the gates of Cæsarea they were questioned by the guards, men of savage nature, “ what they were ? and from whence “ they came ? ” They concealed nought of the truth ; and, as if they had been criminals detected in the very act, they were seized, and conducted to the tyrant. In his presence they behaved confidently, and were forthwith cast into prison ; and on the following day, being

ing the sixteenth of the month Peritius, or, according to the Roman computation, *the fourteenth of the kalends of March*, they, together with Pamphilus, and his companions, already mentioned, were by command brought before the Governor; who, first of all, made trial of the invincible fortitude of those Egyptians by tortures in every form, and with instruments new and various; and after having in such combats exercised the chief person amongst them, he asked, “ *who* he was;” and he heard, in answer, not a real name, but *that* of some one of the prophets. For it happened, that those men, having laid aside the names by which, as received from their parents, they were called, [possibly as being the appellations of idols], had assumed unto themselves

selves other names : and one might
 have observed them using the name of
 Elias or Jeremiah, of Samuel or Da-
 niel ; and thus shewing themselves to
 be, not in deeds alone, but even in
 their very appellations, as “ *that* Jew
 “ who is such inwardly ;” and as *that*
 Israel of God who is such really and in
 sincerity.

Firmilianus, therefore, having heard
 some name of that kind from the mar-
 tyr, and not being acquainted with its
 import, asked of him again, “ What
 was his country ?” and the martyr an-
 swered, in a phrase according with the
 former, that “ Jerusalem was his coun-
 “ try ;” meaning *that* Jerusalem, of
 which it is said by Paul, “ But the Je-
 “ rusalem above is free, she that is our
 “ mother ;” and, “ Ye have come unto
 “ the

“ the hill of Sion, and the city of the
 “ living God, the heavenly Jerusa-
 “ lem.” But the Governor, whose
 apprehensions were earthly and grovel-
 ing, busied himself in inquiring exact-
 ly *where* that city was, and in *what*
 region, and then applied tortures to
 him that he might confess the truth :
 and he, having had his hands twisted
 behind him, and both his feet dislo-
 cated by certain newly contrived in-
 struments, persisted in affirming that
 he had spoken the truth ; and then ha-
 ving been again and frequently asked,
what was that city of which he spake,
 and *where* it lay ? he said, “ That it
 “ was the native country of the reli-
 “ gious alone, for to none others was
 “ it given to be partakers thereof ;
 “ and that it lay in the east, and to-

“ wards the rising of the sun ;” and thus he continued to discourse after his own philosophical and refined sense, inattentive all the while to the men who stood around and tormented him ; as if estranged from the flesh and the body, he seemed to feel none of those pains. But the Governor, bewildered and restless, imagined that surely the Christians were about to establish somewhere a city inimical and hostile to the empire of Rome ; and he was much occupied in the search, and anxiously inquired, concerning that *territory in the east* which the Egyptian had described ; and having with many stripes torn off the flesh of this resolute person, and chastened him with various tortures, Firmilianus observed him invariably to persevere

persevere in repeating what he had already said : then he pronounced sentence of death against him. Such were the circumstances of his trial, and such its tragical catastrophe.

The Governor, having in similar combats experienced the constancy of the other Egyptians, released them, after the same sort, from life. Then, wearied out, and perceiving that those men had been tormented in vain, and having fatiated his passion against *them*, he proceeded to Pamphilus and his companions ; and having learnt from experience, that they had manifested such zeal for the faith as could not be shaken by tortures, he asked, “ Whether they would even now comply ? ” And having received from each of them that final answer which accompanies

confession unto martyrdom, he inflicted like punishment on them as on the others.

At that moment PORPHYRIUS, a stripling of the household of Pamphilus, one fitly nurtured and exercised under the inspection of such a man, as soon as he heard the sentence against his master, called out from the midst of the croud, and besought the Governor, "That the bodies might be committed to the earth." Then he, not a man, but a wild beast, or, if possible, something still more savage, instead of shewing mercy to the tender years of the stripling, asked this one question, "Whether he was a Christian?" And having learnt from his own confession that he was, he grew furious, as if stricken with a
dart,

dart, and enjoined the tormentors to exert their whole strength against him. When the Governor saw that the stripling refused to obey the order for offering incense, he commanded him to be harrowed continually, even to the bones, and deep into his intestines, as if he had been composed, not of human flesh, but of stone or wood, or of some other inanimate substance. At length he perceived, that his attempts were vain against one who, having his body bruised as in a mortar by the tortures inflicted, and well nigh lifeless, yet uttered not a word, neither seemed sensible of pain. Still, however, possessing the same pitiless and inhuman disposition, he appointed Porphyrius to be delivered over unto a slow fire. So he who came last to
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the combat, did nevertheless obtain his removal from the body, while the end of his master Pamphilus was not yet come, and while the tormentors were still occupied against the other more early combatants. Then might one have beheld Porphyrius, after all his sufferings, move forward to death in the guise of a champion victorious at all the sacred games, besprinkled indeed with dust, but having a chearful countenance, and a mind confident and elate, and assuredly full of the Divine Spirit. Arrayed like a philosopher, and wrapped in his single garment, after the manner of a cloak, he sedately gave what directions he thought fit to his acquaintance, and he retained the same chearfulness of countenance even at the stake : and the fire having been
lighted.

ighted around him at some distance, he endeavoured to draw the flames towards him with his mouth ; and until his last breath he most courageously persevered in silence, only when the fire first reached him he uttered these words, “ Jesus, thou Son of God, aid me ! ” such was the combat of Porphyrius.

And one SELEUCUS, who from being a soldier had become a confessor of the faith, brought the tidings of his end to Pamphilus : and forthwith the messenger of those tidings had the honour of partaking of the same lot with the rest ; for while he was telling of the death of Porphyrius, and with a kiss accompanying one of the martyrs, certain of the guards seized him, and brought him before the Governor ; and the Governor,

vernor, as if urging him on to be the companion of Pamphilus in his journey to heaven, straightway commanded him to be beheaded. This Seleucus was from the country of the Cappadocians, one of the band of select young men, and had obtained no small share of the military honours conferred by the Romans. Being in the prime and vigour of life, he far surpassed, in height and in strength, his fellow-soldiers: so that, for stature and comeliness, his appearance became celebrated among all, and his whole form was held worthy of admiration. At the beginning of the persecution he grew renowned for his patient endurance of scourgings in the combats for the confession of the faith, and having changed his condition of soldier, he set himself to be a zealous imitator

mitator of those who exercise themselves in godliness. Of desolate orphans, of widows having no help, and of persons cast down in poverty and infirmities, he distinguished himself as the overseer, and he aided them like a common parent and guardian; and, therefore, he was esteemed worthy of the vocation unto martyrdom, by that God who delighteth more in such deeds than in the steam and blood of burnt-offerings. He, the tenth in the catalogue of combatants, became perfected on one and the same day with those already mentioned; on which day, as it should seem, the chief gate having been unbarred in honour of the martyrdom of Pamphilus, there was an entrance wide opened for him toge-

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ther with the others into the kingdom of heaven.

And on the footsteps of Seleucus there followed THEODULUS, a venerable and godly old man, one of the household of Firmilianus the governor, and by him esteemed above all the rest, as well because he was aged, and the father of children unto the third generation, as because he had always held amongst his fellow-servants a name for benevolence, and most conscientious fidelity. Having demeaned himself in like manner as Seleucus, he was dragged before his master, more exasperated against him than against any of those who had gone before, and having been condemned to crucifixion, he obtained a martyrdom similar to the passion of *the Saviour*.

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One person more being still wanted to make up in all twelve martyrs, JULIANUS appeared, ready to complete the number. He was even then returning from a journey, and had not yet entered the city, when he learnt, by the road, what had happened, and he sprung forwards to have an opportunity of beholding the martyrs: and when he beheld the tabernacles of the departed lying on the ground, he was filled with joy, and he embraced each of them, and saluted them all; and straightway the ministers of slaughter seized on him while thus employed, and brought him before Firmilianus; who, according to the wonted course of his judgments, condemned this prisoner also to be burnt. And thus Julianus, leaping and exulting, and with a loud voice:

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rendering;

rendering thanks unto the Lord for having so distinguished him, was honoured with the garland of the martyrs. He was by birth a Cappadocian, and in his manners most religious and faithful, and of singular integrity, diligent in all duties, and truly breathing the divine spirit.

Such was that associated band, which, in company with Pamphilus, obtained the honour of undergoing martyrdom: and their bodies, holy and blessed indeed, were kept during four days, and as many nights, by command of the impious Governor, to be devoured of carnivorous animals; and when, beside expectation, neither wild beast, nor fowl, nor dog, approached them, they, through divine Providence, having remained without injury,

jury, obtained due funeral-rites, and were delivered over to the wonted place of sepulture.

And while the prosecution against them was yet in the mouths of all men, ADRIANUS and EUBULUS, having set out from that territory which is called *Mangané* to visit the surviving confessors at Cæsarea, were questioned at the gate, as others had been, concerning the cause of their coming thither ; and they, having avowed the truth, were brought before Firmilianus ; and he, as his manner was, delayed not, but tore the flesh off their sides by various instruments of torture, and then condemned them to be devoured of wild beasts ; and, after an interval of two days, on the fifth of the month Dystrus, or *the third of the nones of March,*

March, on the festival of what is reputed to be *the good genius* of the city of Cæsarea, Adrianus having been thrown to a lion, and then pierced with a sword, had his martyrdom completed; and, after an interval of one day more, on *the nones of March*, or the seventh day of the month Dystrus, Eubulus, although much intreated by the Governor to offer incense, and so gain what the Heathens supposed to be *liberty*, yet preferred a glorious death for religion to the enjoyment of that life which is temporary; and having been exposed, like Adrianus, to wild beasts, and then slain with a sword, he was the last who suffered: and thus he terminated the combats of the martyrs in Cæsarea.

And here it is worthy of remembrance,

brance, that, within no long space, the divine Providence overtook those impious governors, together with the tyrants themselves: and that same Firmilianus, who raged so furiously against the martyrs of Christ, having, together with others, received a capital sentence, ended his life by the sword of the executioner.

Such were the martyrdoms completed in the city of Cæsarea during the whole space of the persecution.

C H A P. XII.

I FORBEAR to speak of what also, in the mean while, came to be accomplished against those presidents of the churches whom, instead of being shepherds

herds of the rational flocks of Christ over which they unworthily bare rule, the divine justice held fit to appoint to the superintendency of camels, brutish and deformed animals; and whom it condemned to the vile occupation of feeding the horses of the Emperor.

Neither will I speak of all the contumelies, indignities, and tortures, which they underwent from those who, at different times, were Imperial stewards and governors, on account of the sacred utensils, and the things laid up for the service of the church; nor of the love of pre-eminence in many, nor of indiscreet and irregular ordinations, nor of the schisms amongst the confessors themselves, nor what things factious young men eagerly and industriously devised against the remains of

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the church, on innovations introducing more innovations, not sparing to aggravate the calamities of the persecution, and heaping evils upon evils. All such occurrences I chuse to pass over, as being foreign to my work; and indeed I said at the beginning, that I declined and fled from every recital of that nature. But “ whatsoever “ things,” according to holy writ, “ are comely and of good report, and “ if there be any virtue or any praise,” to speak and to write of them, and to present them to the ears of the faithful, I judged most apposite to a History of the admirable witnesses [for Christ]; and, this being once accomplished, I chuse to adorn the conclusion of my whole discourse with an ac-

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count of that tranquillity which shone forth upon us from heaven.

C H A P. XIII.

WHILE the seventh year of our combats was drawing towards a close, and our affairs had somehow taken a quiet and undisturbed course, even to the entrance of the eighth year, at the copper-mines of Phæno, in Palestine, no small number of confessors had been gathered together, who enjoyed much liberty, so that they built houses for their religious assemblies. But the Governor of the province, a cruel and wicked man, as his behaviour to the martyrs had shewn him to be, having come thither, and having learnt what manner

manner of life they led in that place, made a report of them to the Emperor, and sent, in his letters, whatever accusation against them he thought fit. Then came the superintendant of the mines, and, as by authority of an order from the Emperor, he separated the multitude of confessors, and allotted to some their residence in Cyprus, and to others, in the territory of Mount Libanus; and, having scattered the rest throughout various places of Palestine, he commanded them all to be kept to different sorts of hard labour. Then having chosen out four men, who appeared to be their chief leaders, he sent them to the commander of the forces in those parts: these were PELEUS and NILUS, bishops of the Egyptians; the third, a presbyter;

and the last, he who was eminently distinguished amongst all men for his universal benevolence, PATERMUTHIUS. From them the military commander required the abjuration of their religion ; and not having obtained it, he delivered them over to death by fire.

And in those parts there were certain persons who had a separate portion of land allotted for them to inhabit. These were confessors, who, either from old age, or the mutilation of their limbs, or other infirmities of body, had an exemption from toil in the mines ; of whom Silvanus was the chief, a bishop, a native of the territory of Gaza, one of a circumspect behaviour, and bearing on him the genuine marks of Christianity. He, in
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some sort, from the very first day of the persecution, and also throughout the whole course of it, having been eminent in every combat for confession of the faith, was reserved unto this time, that he might become, as it were, the last seal of the persecution in Palestine.

There were many Egyptians with him ; and, amongst the rest, that JOHN, who, in strength of memory, excelled all men of our age. He had been formerly bereaved of sight : nevertheless, after having distinguished himself in the repeated avowal of religion, he was, together with the rest of the confessors, not only maimed in one foot, but he even had the heated iron thrust into his eyes, already blind. To an excess so unmerciful and pitiless did the

the tormentors stretch their savage inhumanity ! Who would not have admired such a man for his virtuous manners, and the philosophical tenor of his life ? and yet he was not so wonderful even on that account, as for the transcendent perfection of his memory. It was such, that he had whole books of the sacred scriptures written, “ not on “ tables of stone,” as the divine apostle says, or on the skins of animals, or on paper, apt to be consumed by moths, and by time ; but indeed “ on “ the fleshly tables of his heart,” in a pure soul, and in the clearest light of the understanding : so that, whenever he willed, he brought forth, as from a repository of science, and repeated, either the law of Moses, or the prophets, or the historical, evangelical,

cal, and apostolical parts of scripture. And indeed I myself was struck with admiration when I first beheld that man standing in the church, amidst a considerable multitude, and reciting certain portions of holy writ. As long as I could only hear his voice, I supposed that he was reading somewhat, as the wont is in the assemblies of the Christians: but when I came close up to him, and discovered what was the truth, and perceived that many, with sight unimpaired, stood around him, while he, employing only the eyes of his mind, uttered the divine oracles like some prophet, and far excelled his hearers whose bodies were altogether sound; then indeed how could I but glorify God, and admire him! Then, methought, I saw

a clear and positive argument to prove, that, not by outward appearance, but by his soul and understanding, is man distinguished; since this person, even with an impaired body, could shew forth the superior excellence of his abilities.

Now, those persons formerly spoken of, who, in their sequestered habitations, were discharging their wonted duties by prayer, fastings, and other exercises, did God himself, extending his hand in their favour, judge worthy that they should become perfected unto salvation. But the hostile adversary could not endure men who were constantly in arms against him, by their supplications to God, and he devised to slay and take from off the earth those troublers; and God suffered him to do it,

it, that *he* might not be letted from accomplishing his premeditated wickedness, and that *they* might receive the reward of the various combats which they had undergone : and so, in one day, thirty-nine had their heads cut off by an order from the most execrable Maximin.

These were all the martyrdoms completed throughout Palestine during the course of eight years : and after this sort was the persecution in our age, having begun with the demolition of the churches, and having advanced to great excess, when, from time to time, the rulers of the provinces rose up against us ; and, on those occasions, the various and diversified combats of the champions for godliness sake, produced, in every territory, an innumerable

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multitude

multitude of martyrs, as in the regions of Libya, and throughout all Egypt; in Syria, and in the countries towards the East, and around unto Illyricum: for the countries beyond those that have been mentioned, namely, the whole of Italy, Sicily, and whatever is situated towards the west, as Spain, Mauritania, and Africa, having for a while endured the battle, were speedily, and even before the end of the second year of the persecution, held worthy of the visitation of God, and they obtained peace; heavenly Providence thus sparing those men for the sake of their singleness of heart, and their faith.

And now a most unlooked-for event happened, an event without example in the history of the Roman government;

ment ; for the empire, during the persecution of our times, was severed in twain, and the brethren dwelling in the one part, already mentioned, enjoyed peace, while they in the other part of the world underwent thousands and thousands of conflicts : but when the divine favour vouchsafed its gracious and merciful visitation to us also, then our rulers, those very men by whose means of old the wars against us had been excited, did, in consequence of a most amazing change of sentiments, pronounce their recantation, by edicts full of clemency, and by gentle ordinances on our behalf, extinguishing that fire which themselves had kindled against us. The recantation itself must not be left unwritten.

The Edict of the Emperor Galerius.

AMONGST our other regulations for the permanent advantage of the commonweal, we have hitherto studied to reduce all things to a conformity with the ancient laws and public discipline of the Romans.

It has been our aim in an especial manner, that the Christians also, who had abandoned the religion of their forefathers, should return to right opinions: for so great wilfulness and folly had, we know not how, taken possession of them, that, instead of observing those ancient institutions which possibly their own forefathers had established, they through caprice made
laws

laws to themselves, and drew together into different societies many men of widely different persuasions.

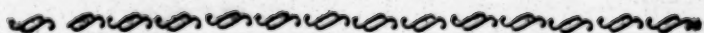
After the publication of our edict, ordaining the Christians to betake themselves to the observance of the ancient institutions, many of them were subdued through the fear of danger; and, moreover, many of them were exposed to jeopardy: nevertheless, because great numbers still persist in their opinions, and because we have perceived, that at present they neither pay reverence and due adoration to the gods, nor yet worship their own God, therefore we, from our wonted clemency in bestowing pardon on all, have judged it fitting to extend our indulgence to those men, and to permit them again to be Christians, and to re-
establish

establiſh the places of their religious aſſemblies ; yet ſo as that they offend not againſt good order.

By another mandate we intend to ſignify unto magiſtrates how they ought to demean themſelves.

Wherefore it will be the duty of the Chriſtians, in conſequence of this our toleration, to pray to their God for our welfare, and for that of the public, and for their own ; that the commonweal may continue ſafe in every quarter, and that they themſelves may live ſecurely in their habitations.

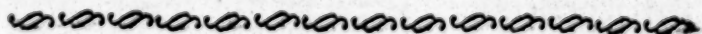
NOTES



N O T E S

A N D

ILLUSTRATIONS.



NOTES and ILLUSTRATIONS.

Pag. 1. l. 1.

“ In the nineteenth year of the Emperor
“ Diocletian.” This is supposed to coincide with the 303d year of the vulgar Christian æra.

Pag. 1. l. 5.

“ At the approach of the annual commemoration of the passion of our Saviour ;” that is, “ about Passion week.”

Many eminent chronologists have attempted to ascertain the precise date of the commencement of the reign of Diocletian : the subject is intricate, and, perhaps, inexplicable.

There are also various difficulties respecting the months and days mentioned in the account of *the Martyrs in Palestine*. Sca-

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liger,

liger, *De emendatione temporum*, p. 499. asserts, that the errors in the computations of Eusebius are many; and not owing to the fault of transcribers, but to the ignorance of the author himself; [“characterismi
 “mendosi sunt, non librario, sed auctori
 “ipsi adscribendi.”] Eusebius may have been ignorant of the true date of the commencement of the reign of Diocletian, and he, or his transcribers, may have erred in adapting the Syrian months to the Roman computation of time; but it is probable that he is accurate enough in speaking of the computation of time used in his own country; and that, in general, he may be credited when he mentions an event to have happened on a particular day of a month, although he may have falsely explained it by a reference to ides, nones, or kalends, or may have fixed it in a wrong year of the reign of Diocletian. Eusebius, no doubt, may have erred sometimes even in dates according

ording to his own computation, for all historians are liable to such errors, from inattention, or hastiness in writing.

Pag. 2. l. 1.

“ Ordaining the churches to be razed to
“ their foundations.” This remarkable event is frequently mentioned by ecclesiastical authors. The first sacred edifice destroyed was the church at Nicomedia, in Bithynia. The Emperor Diocletian was wont to reside in that city.

The church at Nicomedia “ had long excited the indignation and envy of the
“ Gentiles,” *Gibbon*, p. 683.; and it was the boast of the Christians of those times. See the author *De mortibus persecutorum*, c. 12. On the 23d day of February, A. D. 303, it was demolished; and on the next day the edict for its demolition, and for suppressing the religion of Christ, was promulgated. It is probable that the edict would

not be promulgated in Syria till some considerable time after.

Pag. 2. l. 3.

“ The books of the holy scriptures to be burnt,” [ἀφανείς πυρὶ γερῆσθαι]; that is, “ to become effaced in the flames,” or, “ to disappear in fire.” Some such pompous expression might, possibly, have been used in the edict; yet it was judged proper to use more simple language in the translation.

Mr Gibbon, p. 679. observes, “ that the new Platonicians composed against the faith of the gospel many elaborate treatises, which have since been committed to the flames by *the* prudence of orthodox emperors. See *Socrat. Hist. Eccles.* l. i. c. 9. and *CODEX THEODOSIANUS*, l. i. t. i. l. 3.” Whether Mr Gibbon meant by this remark to apologize, in some measure, for the edict of Diocletian, or only to silence his antagonists by that great enemy
of

of truth, the *argumentum ad hominem*, I know not. The observation, on various accounts, is remarkable.

1. That books long ago burnt, and not existing at present, were *elaborate treatises*, appears a singular assertion. Were they elaborate, because written by fashionable philosophers, or because aimed against Christianity, or because their fragments still extant are replete with argument and erudition? The treatises of fashionable philosophers might have been elaborate as to style, and yet careless as to matters of fact, and exceedingly illogical. Books no less silly have been written against Christianity, than its weakest and worst-informed friends have written in its defence; and as to the arguments and erudition of the lost treatises, the patrons of infidelity know how to judge of them from the fragments still extant.

2. The *prudence* of the *orthodox* emperors

rors is extolled for what was a rash measure of misguided policy. Many unsuspected friends of Christianity think, that *the elaborate treatises of those fashionable philosophers*, would have done service to the common cause, had they been preserved; and that even their fragments are highly estimable: for the truth is, that the unbelievers of modern times are ashamed of their Heathen predecessors.

3. Mr Gibbon extols the *orthodoxy* and *prudence* of the younger Theodosius. As he advances farther in his work, he will see, that that prince was long *a heretic*, and always *a simpleton*.

4. Mr Gibbon appears to have relied on the authority of Lardner, *Testimonies*, vol. 2. p. 263. and to have misunderstood him. Lardner, when mentioning a constitution of the younger Theodosius, referred to *C. L. 1. t. 1. l. 3.*; that is, as the known abbreviations imply, to *the third law of the first*

first title of the first book of the Code of Justinian, where indeed the constitution quoted by Lardner is to be found; but Mr Gibbon, observing the name of *Theodosius* in Lardner, hastily concluded, that the passage was in the *CODEx THEODOSIANUS*, although a constitution, dated, as *that is*, A. D. 449, could not possibly be found in a body of laws published A. D. 438. See *Gotofredi Proleg. ad Cod. Theodos.* c. 1.

5. The constitution of the Emperor Constantine the Great, mentioned by Socrates, *Hist. Eccles. l. 1. c. 9.* evidently relates to the works of Porphyry alone. Whether the constitution of the younger Theodosius related to any works excepting those of Porphyry, is not certain. Its words are, *l. 3. § 1. Cod. de Summa Trinitate*, [L. 1. t. 1. l. 3. § 1.] “Sancimus [igitur], ut omnia
 “quæcunque Porphyrius, suâ pulsus infamia,
 “[aut quivis alius], contra religiosum
 “Christianorum cultum conscripsit, apud
 “quemcunque

“ quemcunque inventa fuerint, igni man-
 “ cipentur.” In the Greek the constitu-
 tion runs thus: “ Θεσπίζομεν ὥςτέ πάντα
 “ ὅσα Πορφύριος ὑπὸ τῆς ἐαυτοῦ μαμανίας ἐλαυ-
 “ νόμενος [ἢ ἑτέρος τις] κατὰ τῆς εὐσέβους
 “ τῶν Χριστιανῶν θρησκείας συνέγραψε παρ’ οἷω
 “ δὴποτέ εὐρισκόμενα, πυρὶ παραδίδοσθαι.” The
 words, “ aut quivis alius,” [ἢ ἑτέρος τις],
 are generally held to be an interpolation :
 they are not to be found in the *Corpus*
Glossatum; and Gotofred, and other edi-
 tors, suspect their authenticity. The turn
 of expression in the original, favours this
 suspicion; and indeed it would have been
 singular, if, in the verbose constitutions of
 the Lower Empire, all Heathen writings a-
 gainst the Christian religion had been con-
 demned to the flames by virtue of this brief
 parenthesis [ἢ ἑτέρος τις].

Nevertheless I will not affirm, that
 “ ἢ ἑτέρος τις” is an interpolation. Such
 words

words might have been used in the constitution of Theodosius, although in a sense very different from that in which Lardner and others understand them.

Every one who has any acquaintance with ecclesiastical history, knows, that *Porphyrius* was a name given to a Syrian called *Melec*, or, with a Greek variation, *Malchus*. The word imports *prince*; and hence the great antagonist of the Christians was called *Porphyrius* or *Porphyreus*, literally *the purpled*, which in those times implied *the princely*. When the writings published under the name of *Porphyry* became obnoxious to the ordinance of Constantine the Great, it is reasonable to suppose, that his admirers would endeavour to elude the law, by transcribing them under his *real* name of *Malchus*. In this view, the constitution of Theodosius may be understood as condemning to the flames the

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works

works of Porphyry, under whatever name the author might pass or be known.

Pag. 2. l. 9.

“ The first edict.” ‘The author *De mortibus persecutorum*, c. 11. says, that Diocletian was unwilling to persecute the Christians; but that at length, through the importunity of his colleague Galerius, he consented. Mr Gibbon observes, p. 681. “ That Lactantius, or whoever was the author of this little treatise, was at that time “ an inhabitant of Nicomedia; but that it “ seems difficult to conceive how he could acquire so accurate a knowledge of what passed “ ed in the Imperial cabinet.”

Had the author *De mortibus persecutorum* said, that every thing concerning the project of persecution was transacted between the two princes, without the intervention of confidents, we might have been apt to inquire, how the author obtained so accurate a knowledge of what passed in the

the Imperial cabinet ? But Mr Gibbon forgets what in the very same page he mentions on the authority of the very same writer : “ Galerius at length extorted from
 “ Diocletian the permission of summoning
 “ a council composed of a few persons, the
 “ most distinguished in the civil and military departments of the state. The important question was agitated in their presence ; and those ambitious courtiers easily discerned, that it was incumbent on
 “ them to *second*, by their eloquence, the
 “ *importunate violence of the Cæsar*. It
 “ may be presumed, that they insisted on
 “ every topic,” &c. Thus we see that the secret was confided to some of the most distinguished persons in the empire. Court-secrets are generally ill kept ; and on this particular occasion there is no ground for supposing, that the Imperial counsellors would scruple to reveal the sentiments of

Diocletian, who soon after became a private man.

Besides, it will be remembered, that the Emperor Constantine was at Nicomedia during the consultations; and it is hardly possible to suppose, that he could have remained ignorant of the sentiments of Diocletian and Galerius; or that, after the death of both Emperors, and after the establishment of Christianity, he would have made a secret of what he knew.

Holding the treatise *De mortibus persecutorum* to have been written by Lactantius, we might reasonably conjecture, that the account of the sentiments of Diocletian given in it, was communicated to the author by Constantine himself; for Constantine, although he suffered Lactantius to remain poor, honoured his talents, and admitted him into his family.

Pag. 2. l. 13.

“ Should be imprisoned.” Eusebius says,
b. 8.

b. 8. c. 6. that the edict for imprisoning the rulers of the church, was issued soon after an insurrection in Syria. The circumstances of this insurrection are learnt from the O-rations of Libanius.

One Eugenius, a tribune, had the command of five hundred soldiers at Seleucia, on the river Orontes. The soldiers were employed in deepening and clearing the harbour of that city. Impatient of their severe and incessant labour, they mutinied, and they constrained Eugenius to assume the Imperial purple. Eugenius immediately marched towards Antioch; which city, at that time, chanced to be destitute of troops. He arrived there about sun-set, and took possession of the city: but the mutineers kept no guard, and spent the night in debauchery and riot. The citizens of Antioch remarked their remissness and inconsiderable numbers, assailed them with clubs and stones, the very women assisting, and before morning

morning put all the mutineers to death. Such is the story in Libanius, the only writer who has preserved any circumstances of the Syrian insurrection.

Mr Gibbon says, p. 689. " M. de Valois [Valesius], with some probability, thinks, that he has discovered the Syrian rebellion in an oration of Libanius; and that it was a rash attempt of the tribune Eugenius, who with only five hundred men seized Antioch." Mr Gibbon adds an original conjecture; " and Eugenius might, perhaps, allure the Christians by the promise of religious toleration." But although we should grant that the Christians of Syria were weak enough to listen to offers of religious toleration made by so feeble an usurper; yet it is obvious, that no such offers could have been made in the course of a rebellion which arose and was quelled within the space of twenty-four hours.

Pag. 3. l. 2.

“ Procopius.” Valesius observes, that our author accurately mentions the parentage of the other martyrs, and the ecclesiastical offices borne by any of them; but that he neither mentions the parentage of Procopius, nor the ecclesiastical offices borne by him: and hence Valesius precipitantly concludes, that the treatise of *the Martyrs in Palestine*, as we now have it, is imperfect; and that the imagined blanks ought to be supplied from Greek Martyrologies, and other treatises of like authority. The observation is founded on a mistake: for in the very same chapter in which the sufferings of Procopius are related, we have an account of the martyrdom of Alpheius and Zacchæus; and yet, from the work of Eusebius, we learn nothing of the parentage of either; and we are only led to infer, from a passage at the end of the third chapter, that they were men possessed of ecclesiastical offices.

offices. Other instances of the like nature will be obvious to attentive readers.

As to Procopius, the supposed blank in *the Martyrs in Palestine* concerning him, is filled up by Valesius from a Latin MS. intitled, *Passio Sancti Procopii Martyris* : and a strange composition it is, being an injudicious amplification of Eusebius by one who did not understand the meaning of that author. Thus, for example, he says, that when Procopius asserted the unity of God, the judge, struck with his discourses, and wounded in conscience, acquiesced in the truth of that assertion : “ *Judex autem, plagâ sermonis ictus, et conscientiâ fau-
cious, consensit ejus sermoni.*” But the meaning of Eusebius is very different.

Pag. 3. l. 12.

“ The four Emperors.” Diocletian, Maximian, Galerius, and Constantius Chlorus, father of Constantine the Great.

Pag.

Pag. 3. l. 14.

“ The dominion of many,” &c. A well-known passage in Homer, and become proverbial.

If Procopius meant to utter this as a maxim in politics, as well as in religion, we might be led to conclude, that he supposed the eldest Emperor, Diocletian, to have been favourably inclined to the Christians: and thus, as has been already observed, the author *De mortibus persecutorum* ascribes the persecution, rather to the passionate counsels of Galerius, than to the will of Diocletian.

Pag. 4. l. 2.

“ *Eighth* day of the month Desius.” Valesius thinks, that the Syro-Macedonian months were regulated at Cæsarea according to the Julian computation, and therefore he reads ἐβδόμη, *the seventh*, instead of ὀγδὴ, *the eighth*.

Pag. 4. l. 12.

“ The spectacle of mighty and well-sustained combats.” Here there is an allusion to the games celebrated among the Greeks. Many such allusions occur in the epistles of St Paul, which our language can hardly render intelligible. For example, how little of the energy, or even of the sense, of, τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν καλὸν ἡγώνισμαι, 2 Tim. c. 4. v. 7. is there preserved in, “ I have fought the good fight ? ”

Pag. 6. l. 18.

“ Cruelly distended.” [ὕπὸ τέσσαρα τῷ κοιλίῃς κενήματα]. Here also the general sense is given, because a literal translation would be hardly intelligible. See *Martyrs of Smyrna*, p. 191.

Pag. 7. l. 9.

“ Romanus.” In a treatise concerning the Resurrection, which bears the name of Eusebius, it is related, that Romanus, on having his tongue cut out, obtained the
cure

cure of an impediment in his speech, and thus, instead of being deprived of the power of utterance, spake plainer than before. Valesius affects to be surprised that Eusebius, in writing the account of Romanus, should have omitted a circumstance so remarkable. But there is no reason for supposing, that the treatise *concerning the Resurrection* was composed by Eusebius Pamphilus bishop of Cæsarea. The copy preserved is in Latin; and there is no certainty that it ever existed in Greek. It might have been composed by some other writer of the name of *Eusebius*, for there were many of that name; or it might have been composed under the feigned name of *Eusebius*, by some officious forger; for there have been but too many of that profession in the Christian church. Indeed the silence of the genuine Eusebius with respect to the miracle wrought on Romanus, might have led an accurate critic to

conclude, that the author of *the Martyrs in Palestine*, and the author of the treatise *concerning the Resurrection*, were different persons.

This answer to Valeſius is propoſed by Dr Jortin, vol. ii. p. 328.; and it is more judicious than another answer which Dr Jortin makes in the preceding page: “ Eusebius the *orator* thought he might say “ what Eusebius the *historian* would not attest: his real sentiments must be learned “ from his history, and not from a sermon “ or a declamation.” The remark is crude and rash, and causelessly impeaches the veracity of Eusebius.

Pag. 7. l. 13.

“ Exorcist.” An office not confined to what the sense of the word might seem to denote. It was one great part of the business of the exorcists to pray over the *Catechumens*, or newly-instructed Christians. See *Valeſius*.

Pag.

Pag. 9. l. 16.

“ For celebrating the commencement of
 “ the twentieth year,” &c. called by the
 author *De mortibus persecutorum*, c. 17.
Vicennalium dies. Learned men have be-
 stowed much pains in attempting to ascer-
 tain the precise day on which this great fe-
 stival commenced. They who are curious
 in such inquiries, may see the different o-
 pinions on this subject collected by Bauldri,
 in his edition of the treatise *De mortibus*
persecutorum, c. 17. — It is probable,
 that the festival did not commence over
 the whole empire on the same day, and
 that it was not, in all places, of equal du-
 ration.

Pag. 10. l. 9.

“ The events of the first year,” &c.
 These were but the beginning of sorrows,
 as Eusebius shews in the next chapter.

Pag. 11. l. 5.

“ Was stifled in smoke.” This is the in-
 terpretation

terpretation of Valefius *ad Euseb.* l. 8. c. 12.

“ Dicitur autem μαλθακὸν πῦρ ad differen-

“ tiam ασβείσῃ πυρὸς. Accendebatur autem

“ ignis ille ex longinquo, ita ut marty-

“ res suffocarentur potius quàm crema-

“ rentur.” The passage in Eusebius, l. 8.

c. 12. mentions, that “ the martyrs were

“ suffocated with the smoke sent forth from

“ the burning matter.” [τῷ παραπεμπο-

μένῳ καπνῷ τῆς φλεγομένης ὕλης ἀποπνιγομένων.]

After the same manner I have translated

λεπίῳ καὶ μαλθακῷ πυρὶ παραδοθεῖς, which more

literally signifies “ delivered over to a slow

“ fire.” In the behaviour of the persecu-

tors, there are so many examples of infer-

nal cruelty, that one is willing to favour any

interpretation which may tend to diminish

the horrors of the persecution.

Pag. 11. l. 12,

“ Thecla, the Thecla of our times,”

[ἡ καθ’ ἡμᾶς Θείκλα.] Valefius observes,

that

that this expression is used to distinguish her from the primitive Thecla. But surely *that* was unnecessary. Eusebius only meant to compare the characters of two martyrs having the common name of *Thecla*.

Pag. 14. l. 5.

“ The presiding Emperor,” &c. On the first of May [A. D. 305, as is supposed] the two Emperors, Diocletian, and Maximian, surnamed *Herculeus*, laid aside the imperial dignity, and assumed the garb of private citizens. The circumstances of this unparalleled event are minutely related by the author *De mortibus persecutorum*, c. 17. to 19.; an author who has fallen under the most severe displeasure of Mr Gibbon.— “ Lactantius,” says he, “ may sometimes be admitted as an evidence of public facts, though *very seldom* of private anecdotes,” p. 466. Yet Mr Gibbon has largely availed himself of the *public facts* related by that author, and has seldom disproved his *private*

vate anecdotes. One might point out a considerable portion of the work of Mr Gibbon, which is neither more nor less than an elegant English paraphrase of the author *De mortibus persecutorum*.

Pag. 15. l. 3.

“ Maximin.” Son to the sister of the Emperor Galérius. His original name was *Daia*, or *Daza*. The circumstances of the strange elevation of this illiterate and worthless young man, are recorded by the author *De mortibus persecutorum*, c. 18. 19. He concludes thus: “ *Daia verò, sublatuſ nuper a*
“ *pecoribus et ſylvis, ſtatim ſcutarius, con-*
“ *tinuò protector, mox tribunus, poſtridie*
“ *Cæſar, accepit Orientem calcandum et*
“ *conterendum, quippe qui neque militiam*
“ *neque rem publicam ſciret;*” that is,
“ *Daia*, lately taken from the tending of
“ cattle in foreſts to ſerve as a common ſol-
“ dier, immediately made one of the life-
“ guard, preſently a tribune, and next day
“ *Cæſar,*

“ Cæsar, a person ignorant alike of war
 “ and of civil affairs, obtained authority to
 “ trample under foot and oppress [grind]
 “ the empire of the East.”

Pag. 16. l. 10.

“ Those studies which with us qualify
 “ men for civil employments.” Ἑλληνῶν
 παιδείας ἕνεκα κοσμικῆς. The phrase admits
 not of a literal translation. Valesius under-
 stands it of the Latin language and jurispru-
 dence, which were branches of knowledge
 necessary for all persons aspiring to offices
 of magistracy. Berytus, during many ages,
 was the principal school for civil law.”

Pag. 16. l. 14.

“ Every juvenile pleasure.” τῶν νεωτερικῶν
 ἐπιθυμιῶν. Eusebius alludes to 2 Tim. c. 2.
 v. 22. where the same phrase occurs. Our
 translators have rendered it “ youthful
 “ lusts,” which, in the modern sense of the
 words, may appear too limited a version. I

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have

have used the word *pleasure*, as being more comprehensive. Perhaps *desire* would be still better.

Pag. 17. l. 4.

“ Araxa.” In some MSS. the words are, εἰ τις ἄρα Παγὰς ἐπίσῃλαι τῆς Λυκιάς. That is, “ If any one happens to know “ *Pagæ* in Lycia.” But no geographer or historian mentions such a place as situated in Lycia. In Greece indeed there were different places of that name. See *Strabo*.

Valesius observes, that in other MSS. these readings occur, ἀρπαγὰς, ἀρπαγὰς, ἀραπαγὰς, ἀραγὰς. And as all of them are unintelligible, he conjectures the true reading to be ΑΡΑΞΑΝ, that is, *Araxa*, a city in Lycia mentioned by *Stephanus Byzantinus*, p. 153. and by *Ptolemy*, l. 5. c. 3.

But if conjectures are to be admitted, why may we not read ΠΑΤΑΡΑΝ? that word is not more remote from ΠΑΓΑΣ than ΑΡΑΞΑΝ is. *Patara* was a place of principal
note

note in maritime Lycia, and of great sanctity among the Heathens. The oracle of Apollo uttered responses alternately in the island Delos and at Patara: and every one knows that Apollo was styled *Pátareus* as well as *Delius*. Supposing Apphianus to have been a native of Patara, we may discern the reason of the attachment of his father and his other relations to the rites of Paganism, an attachment which Eusebius seems to represent as singularly bigotted.

Pag. 18. l. 10.

“ He was much with me.” Simeon Metaphraustes, and the other Greek martyrologists, say, that Apphianus was instructed by Pamphilus the martyr: but they carefully conceal the friendship which subsisted between Apphianus and Eusebius Pamphilus the historian; because, according to the conjecture of Valefius, they considered Eusebius the historian as a favourer of heterodox opinions.

There is no evidence that Apphianus had any divine commission; and therefore we may be allowed to hesitate in our assent to the encomiums which Eusebius bestows on him. Apphianus was a young man, and a young Christian: and although his behaviour appears to have been sedate and grave, and free from the extravagant violence of a zealot; yet it may still be doubted, whether his manner of admonishing Urbanus did indeed promote the common cause of Christianity.

Pag. 21. l. 12.

“ Torn.” [*διασπαρχθεῖς.*] The word in the original expresses more than, probably, the historian meant; and therefore it is somewhat limited in the translation.

Pag. 21. l. 18.

“ His feet distended in an engine of torture.” [*ἄμφω τὸ πόδι ἐπὶ τῷ βασανιστικῷ διαλαθεῖς ξύλῳ.*] The translation may seem affected;

affected ; but “ the tormenting wood,” which is a literal translation, would have been still more exceptionable.

Pag. 22. l. 1.

“ They attempted to constrain him to sacrifice.” [*εἰς αὐτὸν ἐκβιάζομενόν.*] Valerius translates the words “ compulsius deinde a iudice Diis sacrificare.” The sense of the original would have been better expressed thus : “ Dum ad sacra facienda urgeretur.” Apphianus was never *compelled* to sacrifice ; but while his persecutors still urged him, he stood firm in the faith.

Pag. 23. l. 12.

“ The things which ensued will appear incredible.” The incident, which Eusebius relates with much pomp of language, is simply this : “ There arose a violent wind, and the body of Apphianus was thrown ashore.” We may believe *the fact*, and yet question *the prodigy*. There is nothing in the narrative which impeaches

peaches the veracity of Eusebius, although his judgement, and taste in composition, may be exceptionable. See *Jortin*, Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, v. ii. p. 324.

Pag. 24. l. 1.

“ In the unfathomable deep.” The martyrologists saw, that the story, as told in Eusebius, did not prove that the corpse of Apphianus was miraculously thrown ashore; and therefore, to the genuine narrative, they added, “ That Apphianus was sunk in the deep with weights fixed to his feet;” [Lapidibus ad pedes ejus suspensis.] *This* is not to write history, but martyrologies. Yet it shews, that *the martyrologists* observed, and supplied, the deficiency of miracles in *the historian*. See *Valesius*, not. ad Euseb. What is said of *weights fixed to his feet*, is borrowed from the account of the martyrdom of Agapius, c. 6. A precaution neglected in the case of Apphianus, was used in the case of Agapius.

pius. The corpse of the former was thrown ashore, and the corpse of the latter was not. Pity that Eusebius did not perceive the distinction.

Pag. 25. l. 5.

“ With a dog and an aspie.” The known punishment of parricide by the Roman law. *Why* this young man should have been punished “ with the pains of parricide,” is hard to say. Possibly, in the case of extraordinary crimes, the judges took upon themselves to inflict a sentence applicable to any special crime. We have seen, that, in the Decian persecution, a *Christian* was crucified with *robbers*.

Pag. 25. l. 7.

“ In speaking of the martyrdom of Ap-
 phianus.” Eusebius, having proposed to
 treat of the martyrs in Palestine, makes an
 apology for introducing a martyr at Tyre.
 Although we are pleased to obtain au-
 thentic information concerning any mar-
 tyr

tyr for the faith, yet we may question the propriety of introducing Ulpianus in this place. He suffered about the same time that Apphianus did, and the manner of the death of each was similar; but these are no sufficient reasons for inserting Ulpianus among the martyrs in Palestine.

Pag. 26. l. 3.

“ To the mines.” Probably the mines of Phæno, which are mentioned afterwards, ch. 7. It may be conjectured, that Ædesius was permitted to make his escape from the mines, on account of his father, a person of eminence among the Heathens.

Pag. 26. l. 5.

“ The habit of a philosopher.” The *name* of philosopher procured respect under the government of the learned and studious princes of the Antonine family, and the *garb* of philosopher became fashionable. It appears, that the name and garb still retained a sort of traditionary respect,

spect, under the government of illiterate soldiers of fortune, and their worthless kindred.

A learned friend puts this question, "Does not our historian, amidst all his pomp of language, sometimes trifle?" "What is the philosopher and his cloak in comparison of the Christian?" The remark is just. Eusebius speaks with the early prejudices of an academical tutor, and forgets the dignity of an historian and a bishop.

It is not improbable that Eusebius made the first sketch of this work in his younger days, and while his imagination was strongly affected with the events which he had recently seen; and that, after having attained to maturer years, he reviewed the compositions of his youth with too much indulgence.

And thus the bishop and the statesman

E

did

did not altogether discard the rhetorical tinsel of the sophist of Cæsarea.

Pag. 26. l. 13.

“ Transgressing the bounds of decency
 “ and moderation.” The phrase in the original is more forcible : [περὰ των προσηκόντων ἐμπαροῦνῃα,] “ With the extravagancies
 “ of a drunk man.” There is an apposite example of this in the State-Trials, *The King, v. Baxter.*

Pag. 27. l. 2.

“ Ædesius.” Mr Gibbon thus speaks of the behaviour of Ædesius. “ On some particular occasions, when the magistrates
 “ were *exasperated by some personal motives*
 “ *of interest or resentment*, when the zeal of
 “ the martyrs urged them to forget the
 “ rules of prudence, and perhaps of decency, to overturn the altars, to pour
 “ out imprecations against the emperors,
 “ or to *strike the judge* as he sat on his tribunal, it may be presumed that every
 “ mode

“ mode of torture, which cruelty could in-
 “ vent, or constancy could endure, was
 “ exhausted on those devoted victims.”
 p. 700.

A note, in illustration of this passage, runs thus. “ The antient, and *perhaps au-*
 “ *thentic*, account of the sufferings of Ta-
 “ rachus and his companions [*Acta Sincera*
 “ Ruinart. p. 414.] is filled with strong
 “ expressions of resentment and contempt,
 “ which could not fail of irritating the ma-
 “ gistrates. The behaviour of Ædesius to
 “ Hierocles Præfect of Egypt was still more
 “ extraordinary: λόγοις τε καὶ ἔργοις τὸν δι-
 “ κασὴν ἀσχυρὴ καὶ ἀτιμία περιβαλὼν. Eu-
 “ seb. de Mart. Palestin. c. 5.”

My subject does not lead me to make any remarks on the very singular character here given of the Heathen magistrates, That they were men “ exasperated by personal motives
 “ of interest or resentment;” and indeed I am not perfectly sure whether I understand

the phrase of being *exasperated by motives of interest*.

12. P
44
For proving, " That the zeal of the martyrs urged them to overturn the altars, " and to pour out imprecations against the " emperors," Mr Gibbon has recourse to the *Acta Tarachi*. But the *Acta Tarachi* are of no authority, and can never stand the test of sober criticism. Of this Mr Gibbon will be sensible, whenever he deliberately examines the style and circumstances of that narrative.

Mr Gibbon might have produced the example of Valentina, who overturned an altar, *Mart. Palest.* c. 8 ; but I suppose that he had reasons for omitting it.

The other example of intemperate zeal in the martyrs which he produces, is that of *Ædelsius* ; and here it must be acknowledged, that Mr Gibbon has overlooked that brutal sentence of the judge which excited the indignation of *Ædelsius*.

Dr

Dr Chelfum, p. 213. doubts of the propriety of Mr Gibbon's expression, and thinks, "that it is not certain that Æd-
fius struck the judge." But the Greek Martyrologist quoted by Valefius says, "αὐλοχειῶς τὸν ἄρχοντα ἐτυψεν;" and the Latin paraphrast, *ib.* "Divino repletus
"zelo procedit, et verbis et factis Hiero-
"clem confundit. Manu enim suâ plagas
"illi in os infligit, humique supinum pro-
"sternit, et cædit; ac monet, ne audeat
"contra naturæ leges Dei servos offen-
"dere." For framing this story, it is pro-
bable that the Latin paraphrast had no o-
ther materials beside the narrative of Euse-
bius; and therefore what he says of Æde-
fius having struck the judge *on the face*,
and of having *thrown him down*, and *beaten
him*, may be ascribed to fancy: yet still,
through the mist of such exaggerations,
we may discern that the paraphrast under-
stood Eusebius as Mr Gibbon does. There
are

are fundry exceptionable passages in the great work of Mr Gibbon which have escaped the observation and censure of his critics ; but I think that this passage is not justly censurable at all.

It should seem that Ædesius laid hands on the judge ; and it matters not, whether he actually struck him, or only assaulted him, as Henry V. when Prince of Wales, assaulted Judge Gascoigne : for in either case the insult on magistracy was the same as to its nature, and not very different as to its degree.

Mr Davis, p. 67. says, “ We are almost “ tempted to applaud the zeal of Ædesius.” The sentiment, however generous, is youthful and rash : one may execrate the behaviour of Hierocles, without applauding Ædesius.—The only apology for him is, “ That even Christian patience could not “ brook the extravagant and brutal insults “ of Hierocles.”

Pag.

Pag. 28. l. 12.

“ What was called the anniversary of
 “ his birth.” The expression is singular,
 [κατὰ τὴν λεγομένην αὐτοῦ γενέθλιον ἡμέραν].
 Mr Dodwell conjectures, that Maximin Da-
 za celebrated the anniversary of the acces-
 sion of Diocletian, instead of his own birth-
 day.

Pag. 29. l. 5.

“ Skilful feats of activity,” [ἐντέχνους
 τῶν σωμασκήαις]. Valesius incorrectly ren-
 ders the words, “ Exercitatis antè corpori-
 “ bus.” Yet he understood their mean-
 ing; for in his notes he says, “ Pantomi-
 “ mos intelligit, et pegmatarios, et conti-
 “ geros, et funambulos, aliorumque id ge-
 “ nus miraculorum artifices, qui a magni-
 “ ficis quibusque editoribus populo exhi-
 “ bebantur.” For a more minute account
 of those exhibitions, see *J. C. Bullengerus*
de Theatro, l. 1. c. 35. — 41. in the ninth
 volume

volume of *Thesaurus Antiquitatum Romanarum*.

Pag. 29. l. 14.

“ It was Agapius,” &c. [Ἀγάπιος οὗτος ἦν, ὁ δεύτερος ἅμα τῇ Θεκλᾷ. κ. τ. ε.] This passage is obscure, and is generally misunderstood. Valesius says, that Agapius was called *the second* [ὁ δεύτερος], to distinguish him from the *first* Agapius, who suffered together with Thecla, two years before, according to *Eusebius*, c. 3. de M. P. This indeed is the natural interpretation of the phrase [ὁ δεύτερος]; and yet it should seem from the context, that the person whose martyrdom Eusebius records in the *sixth* chapter, is *the same Agapius* whose condemnation he had mentioned in the *third*.

The *Agapius* mentioned in the sixth chapter is called *the second of that name*, or *the second martyr of that name*; because *the first*
martyr

martyr of that name is said, in chapter 3. to have been beheaded together with the six young Christians at Cæsarea. And thus *that* Agapius whom Eusebius joins with Thecla, preceded the *other* Agapius in *condemnation*, but not in *execution*. Hence it appears, that there were only two martyrs of the name of Agapius; and that Valefius erroneously supposed, that the Agapius joined with Thecla by Eusebius in the *third* chapter, was a different person from that Agapius whose death is recorded in the *sixth*.

Pag. 29. l. 20.

“ Conducted to the stadium with male-
 “ factors.” With criminals condemned to be exposed to wild beasts. Sentence as to Agapius had been repeatedly respited, while executed against the others. Eusebius seems willing to ascribe this to the lenity of the judge. A conjecture so fair and candid adds to the credibility of an historian whose
 F character

character has, of late years, been in a singular state of persecution.

One should imagine, that by *Judge*, [*δικαστής*], a person different from the *President* or *Governor* [*ἡγεμῶν*] was meant ; yet in the 7th chapter Eusebius mentions Urbanus under both appellations.

This delay of the judge in executing sentence was hardly justifiable by the Roman laws : “ *Qui ad gladium dantur, intra annum consumendi sunt ;*” *Jul. Paulus*, Recept. Sententiar. l. v. t. 17. § 3. “ *Ad gladium damnati confestim consumuntur, vel certè intra annum debent consumi ;*” *Ulpianus*, l. viii. De officio proconsulis. See *Schultingius*, *Jurisprudentia Ante-Justiniana*, pp. 497. 774. That the sentence with respect to the *damnati ad bestias* and *bestiis obiecti*, ought to have been executed *within the year*, is not ascertained, so far as I recollect, by any express testimonies ; yet the analogy

analogy is obvious, and hardly requires the aid of any testimonies.

Agapius, although condemned to die in the *second* year of the persecution, did not suffer until the *fourth*; and therefore his life seems to have been spared beyond the term allowed by the Imperial laws.

Pag. 30. l. 17.

“ One guilty, as was reported, of the “ murder of his lord.” It appears from the narrative of Eusebius, that this slave actually combated with wild beasts; and that, on account of his courage or dexterity, the people obtained his pardon. Such pardon, we know, was accompanied with marks of honour, and with the grant of liberty. Neither has Eusebius omitted the mention of those circumstances. But here there occurs a difficulty. A slave, guilty of the murder of his master, might have been exposed to be devoured of wild beasts; but he was not permitted to combat with them: and there-

fore it is probable, that this slave had been engaged in some conspiracy against the life of his master ; and that it was his master who delivered him up, as the laws authorised, to combat with wild beasts.

Pag. 33. l. 6.

“ Who sat in the portico of the judgement-hall.” [*πρὸ τῆς δικάστηρις.*] Valerius, in his version, says, “ ante Prætorium ; and in his notes, “ ante fores Prætorii.” An outer place, opening into the judgement-hall, is here meant.

Pag. 33. l. 9.

“ To request to be remembered by them.” [*ὑπὲρ τῆς μνημονεύειν αὐτῆς.*] This expression, in a like sense, is not to be found in the scriptures of the New Testament. An expression somewhat similar occurs, Luke, c. xxiii. v. 42. *Μνήσθητί με, Κύριε*, but very differently applied. Perhaps in this passage of Eusebius there may be discerned the first dawnsings

dawnings of an opinion which afterwards diffused itself over the Christian world. It would be singular, if the doctrine of the intercession of the saints should have appeared for the first time in the sentiments of a young woman of Tyre, as the doctrine of purgatory is supposed to have appeared for the first time in the visions of Perpetua, a young woman of Africa.

Pag. 34. l. 6.

“ The copper-mines at Phæno.” Between Petra and Zoar in the desert of Idumea. See *Reland*, *Palestina*, p. 71. *Athanasius*, *Epist. ad Solitar.* describes the mines of Phæno as singularly noxious to the wretches condemned to work in them. ἡξίωσαν εἰς μέγαλλον ἀποσπάλῃναι, καὶ μέγαλλον ἔχ' ἀπλῶς, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ τῆς Φαινῶ, ἔνθα καὶ φονεὺς καθιδικαζόμενος ὀλίγας ἡμέρας μόγις δύναται ζῆσαι. That is, “ They thought fit to send
“ him to the mines; and not merely to the
“ mines,

“ mines, but to the mine of Phæno, where
 “ even a murderer condemned to that pu-
 “ nishment can scarcely live for a few
 “ days.” This does not import, that a
 murderer might live longer in the mines of
 Phæno than any other criminal condemned
 to work *there*; but that the worst of crimi-
 nals were sent to those mines, where the
 severity of labour, or the deleterious effluvia
 from the metals, soon brought on death.

Pag. 34. l. 11.

“ Who, while only a presbyter, had
 “ been a confessor,” &c. [ἐν δὲ τότε ὄντα
 πρεσβύτερον ὁμολογήσαντα.] Valesius renders
 the words, “ Qui etiam tum presbyter et
 “ confessor erat.” That version is obscure,
 and expresses not the import of the ori-
 ginal.

Pag. 35. l. 18.

“ To *box* at the exhibition of public
 “ games.” There is an obvious vulgarity
 in this expression, which, however, could
 not

not be avoided. "To wield the *castus*," or "to have combated with the *castus*," would have sounded better; and, had *castus* been a word employed in common language, would have more aptly conveyed the sense of the original. The antagonists in such combats were prepared for the entertainment of the public, by daily exercise against each other. We learn from the following chapter, that the Christians chose rather to endure the severest hardships, than to submit to the infamy of a discipline so adverse to their religion.

Pag. 36. l. 1.

"Who had attained to the years of "manhood." Castration was prohibited by the Roman laws. And more particularly, by an edict of the Emperor Hadrian, l. 4. § 2. Dig. *ad leg. Cornel. de Sicariis*; it appears, that Urbanus not only violated the law, but even aggravated his savage injustice, by making grown persons its victims.

Pag.

Pag. 37. l. 3.

“ Foiled and abashed.” The sense of the original is not clear, [αἰσχύνην γεμὴν ἐπὶ πᾶσι καταχέμενος]. Valesius translates it, “ Cum ex his omnibus nihil præter decus atque ignominiam retulisset.” A learned correspondent observes, “ Vertit Valesius quasi passivè enunciaretur, quod a vi vocis mediæ omninò abhorret.”

Pag. 38. l. 9.

“ It appointed.” This period is too long; and yet it could not be divided in the translation, without having its sense impaired. Its purpose is, to shew the effects of the divine *Nemesis*, or of an avenging Providence. Dr Jortin renders the passage thus: “ Whilst Maximinus himself — *proved* his most barbarous and inexorable enemy.” But this version does not express the energy of the original, which implies, “ That God made Maximin the instrument of his vengeance, by turning
“ the

“ the friend of Urbanus into an inexorable
 “ judge.” It is strange that Dr Jortin
 should have overlooked an interpretation so
 apposite to the proposition maintained by
 himself. See *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History*,
 vol. iii. p. 265.

Dr Jortin adds, with great truth, that
 “ the ecclesiastical historian seems to have
 “ taken some pleasure in stigmatising the
 “ inhuman and cowardly Governor, in
 “ consigning him to everlasting infamy, and
 “ in sacrificing his worthless name to the
 “ *manes* of his dear friend.”

Pag. 39. l. 16.

“ With their wives.” In the original,
 ἅμα γυναῖξιν. Valesius renders it ambiguously,
 “ cum mulieribus.” But, as νεμιδῇ νη-
 πίοις, “ very young children” follows, it is
 probable, that “ wives” are meant, and
 that Eusebius speaks of “ wives and very
 “ young children,” as of a circumstance of

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that

that complicated misery which he himself had beheld.

Pag. 39. l. 12.

“ Confessors for godliness sake.” It should seem, that these persons had been condemned, by sentence of the Governor of Palestine, to work at the Porphyry quarries in Upper Egypt; and that, having persevered in the faith, they were now remanded into the jurisdiction of Palestine to receive additional punishment.

Pag. 40. l. 10.

“ Their right eyes to be pierced,” &c. The manner of putting out the eyes of the prisoners is particularly described by Eusebius. *Tunics* and *pupils* would have sounded uncouthly in English; and therefore the general sense of the original is given, instead of a precise translation.

We are not to suppose, that “ the wives “ and the little children” underwent the punishments here described. There were

no

no more than ninety-seven men from Porphyrites, who had, each of them, one leg maimed, and one eye put out; and as there still remained to each of them a leg and an eye, this might be numbered among the *milder* punishments inflicted on the Christians.

Pag. 41. l. 2.

“Partake of the daily pittance,” &c.
[τάς ἐκ τῆ βασιλικῆς ταμεν τροφάς]. I have used the word *pittance* in its proper, although less frequent sense. Men exercised after this way, received their daily portions from the Imperial store-houses: they were under the inspection of the *Procuratores Caesaris*, called by Eusebius, ἐπιτροποι.

It must excite the indignation of every generous spirit, laying all religious opinions aside, to see an Emperor sitting in judgment on a trial like this, and pronoun-

cing so severe a sentence against such offenders.

Pag. 42. l. 6.

“ She brooked not the denounced threatening of prostitution.” [*πορνείας ἀπειλὴν μὴ ἐνεγκυσα.*] The sense is, that the judge threatened, if she persisted in the Christian faith, to send her to the temple of the Syrian goddess, or to some other place of prostitution; and that she became enraged at such infamous exercise of tyrannical power. Eusebius briefly relates the incident, rather alluding to what must have been well understood by his readers, than explaining it by a long narrative. Mr Gibbon, as every one knows, has contended, that no such punishment was inflicted on Christians by the Heathen magistrate. But surely Eusebius has this advantage over Mr Gibbon, that he wrote of matters to which his own senses might have borne testimony, and which, if false or exaggerated, many of his readers

readers might have contradicted on the testimony of their own senses. An author, be his abilities and his eloquence what they will, stands on disadvantageous ground, when, after the lapse of fourteen hundred years, he opposes an imagined *reason of the thing* to contemporary evidence respecting circumstances possible.

Pag. 42. l. 11.

“ She was raised aloft by an engine.”
 [μέλειωρος ἐπὶ τῷ ξύλῳ γενομένη.] This is a very difficult passage. The word ξύλον, as an instrument of torture, has two several meanings in Eusebius. It commonly signifies some machine placed on the ground, by which the legs of the sufferer were distended to the utmost stretch. This is briefly and elegantly expressed in the noted passage of Prudentius, *divaricatis cruribus*. But the ξύλον here spoken of, is to be understood in a different sense, for the word
 μέλειωρος

μελέωρος is utterly inconsistent with the more common meaning of ξύλον in Eusebius.

Valesius renders ξύλον by *equuleus*. What he meant by that word is not certain. Unhappily its sense is just as ambiguous in Latin as that of ξύλον is in Greek. To recapitulate the various opinions of the learned as to its sense, would be to make an idle parade of dictionary knowledge. The conclusion of Laurentius, in his treatise *De Tormentis*, [Grævii Antiq. Græc. tom. vi. p. 1368. &c.], is candid : after having collected the various and discordant sentiments of many authors on this subject, he adds, “ in tuam
“ ibo sententiam,” i. e. “ it shall be what
“ you please.” Well would it have fared with humanity, and our common faith, had all men, in matters of doubtful and unimportant disputation, imitated the example of this Laurentius.

Pag. 42. l. 16.

“ Another woman,” &c. This period,
in

in the original, is exceedingly prolix and intricate. By the help of some transpositions, the sense is preserved in the version.

Pag. 43. l. 9.

“ For freedom of speech celebrated among the Greeks.” [ὕπὲρ τῶν παρ’ Ἑλλήσιν ἰκείνους μαχητὰς ἐπ’ ἐλευθερίᾳ τεθρυλλημένους.] This passage is obscure, and the word μαχητὰς, [combatants], omitted in the translation, increases its obscurity. The import of that word ought, if possible, to be explained. But *who* those *combatants* were whom the Greeks celebrated for freedom of speech, it is difficult to determine.

Eusebius sometimes employs μαχητὰς for “men of *passive* valour,” such as confessors and martyrs. In this sense the passage might be understood of Callisthenes, the Peripatetic, and other Heathen philosophers, who, for their freedom of speech, underwent tortures. This interpretation might become more probable, if we could
join

join μαχητάς with ἐπ' ἐλευθερία, and thus render the phrase, *libera vocis vindices*.

But, possibly, there is no reference here to freedom of speech at all; and the phrase is to be understood in general of the champions for liberty celebrated among the ancient Greeks.

Pag. 43. l. 14.

“ Signed herself with the venerable name
“ of Christ,” with a cypher or monogram,
expressing the name of Christ. This very
ancient usage, intimated a Christian’s faith
and trust more instantaneously than any
form of words could. To this it is prob-
able that Minucius Felix, c. 9. alludes, by
a phrase, which his commentators seem to
have misinterpreted, “Occultis se notis et in,
“ signibus noscunt.”

Pag. 44. l. 1.

“ Steadily and boldly struck the altar
“ with her heel.” [ἀγρειμῇ καὶ θαρσαλιῶ
ποδὶ λαξὶ ἐνείκει τῷ βωμῷ]; literally, “ with
“ an

“ an intrepid and confident foot ;” words too poetical to be admitted into English prose. The expression of the woman striking the altar with her *heel*, serves to describe her posture at that time ; a circumstance material for understanding the narrative of Eusebius.

The ceremony of sacrificing, or of burning incense, required of the Christians, generally consisted in throwing some grains of incense on the embers or live charcoal of the altar.

While they were forcing the woman to take this test of Paganism, she pertinaciously resisted, and, as it appears, turned away from the altar with abhorrence. Unable any longer to make resistance, she struck the altar with her *heel* ; and from her motion, as described, it is evident, that she did not stand with her face fronting the altar.

Matters being viewed in this light, it is

H

hard

hard to say in what other manner this poor woman could have avoided the offering, or the appearing to offer incense.

It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader, that *altar*, in this passage, implies, not a piece of masonry, but a sort of *portable stand*, having on it a plate with live charcoal.

Pag. 45. l. 11.

“*The united people.*” [ὕπὲρ τῶν ἑθνεῶν]; that is, “for those of different countries
“become one nation in Christ.” By this description ought Christians always to be known.

Pag. 45. l. 13.

“Bestow freedom on them.” [ἐλευθερίαν αὐτοῖς ἐνδοθῆναι]; or, “relieve them from
“thralldom;” that is, “to cause the persecution to cease.”

Pag. 46. l. 5.

“Meek and forgiving spirit.” [ὦ ἀντι-
ξικαχίας]. There is an energy in Greek compounds

pounds rarely to be expressed in our language.

Pag. 46. l. 18.

“ Yet Paulus made himself ready.”
[ὅμως αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν σχηματίσας]. Valefius thus renders the passage: “ *Cum universi* “ lachrymas funderent; — *nihilominus* semet “ ipse composuit.” He seems to contrast the wailing and tears of the spectators with the calm preparation of Paulus for death. But it may be doubted, whether the original can admit of so elegant a sense.

Pag. 48. l. 10.

“ He who had obtained power to persecute.” [ὁ τῷ διώκειν τὴν ἐξουσίαν εἰληχῶς]. The English translator says, “ that is, the “ devil.” But it is more probable, that the Roman Emperors are here meant; and that Eusebius alludes to the Apocalypse, c. xvii. v. 12.

H 2,

Pag.

Pag. 49. l. 3.

“Magistrates of every city.” It would have been useless labour to have searched for names of English officers exactly corresponding to the offices of *Logistæ*, *Strategoi*, and *Tabularii*, mentioned in the original; and therefore a general word, comprehending them all, is employed.

Pag. 49. l. 14.

“Sprinklings,” either of the blood of the victims, or of the holy water of Paganism. It should seem, that the Heathens of the third century knew not the advice which St Paul gave to the Christians of his age, or that the Christians of the third century had forgotten it. St Paul himself would not have scrupled to eat of what was exposed to sale in the markets, although it had undergone the whole course of Pagan lustrations.

Pag. 51. l. 4.

“Became more exasperated, and, without
“out

“ out waiting to inflict tortures, commanded them to be beheaded.” Through impatient rage, he omitted the wonted prelude of tortures, and ordered them to instant execution.

Pag. 51. l. 16.

“ With the garland of virginity.” [*παρθενίας στεμμάτι κεκοσμημένη.*] Valefius shews, from Optatus, that the Christian women, who made choice of a single life, wore a fillet, chaplet, or slight head-dress of purple. Perhaps “ a virgin-garland” is preferable to the literal interpretation of the words.

Pag. 52. l. 3.

“ Presumed to inflict on her.” The common reading is, ὥς ἐπηγαγεν αὐτῇ; but Valefius conjectures ἐπαγαγεῖν to be the true reading, and connects it with ἐτόλμα, which follows.

Pag. 52. l. 6.

“ *Maxys.*” [*Μάξυς ὄνομα, χείρων της προσηγορίας ἀνθρώπου.*] The sound of the word

word *Maxys* has nothing so uncouth as to authorise the observation of Eusebius in the sense generally ascribed to it. Besides, an invective against the sound of a persecutor's name would have been exceedingly puerile.

The true interpretation of the passage seems to be this. *Maks*, in the Syriac language, signifies "a publican or tax-gatherer." *Moks*, in Hebrew, has a like meaning, and *Meks* is "tribute." *Meks*, as a noun, is extant in the Old Testament, and the verb is in use among the modern Jews. These remarks lead us to the meaning of Eusebius. The name of the man was *Maks* [Publican], and the word, accommodated to the Greek language, became *Maxys*. Eusebius says, that his name was descriptive of his character, being that of a person savage and relentless in his nature.

Reading [*Not. ad Euseb.*] aimed at this interpretation, but not having the assistance
of

of any person learned in the Oriental languages, as I have, he erred from the mark.

Pag. 54. l. 10.

“ Exceeding every theme of declamation, and all that is heard in tragedies.”

[Διὰ μα παντός λόγῳ καὶ τραγικῆς ἀκοῆς μείζον.]

If this passage is rightly rendered, it alludes to a like prohibition said to have been issued by Creon King of Thebes ; and which, no doubt, was a subject of declamation, as well as of tragedies.

Pag. 54. l. 20.

“ There ensued this wonderful event.”

Dr Jortin, *Remarks on Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii. p. 326. says, “ At Cæsarea, when

“ the persecution raged, and the Christians

“ lay up and down unburied, and the

“ earth was strewed with their mangled

“ limbs, though the day was bright and se-

“ rene, the buildings ran down with drops,

“ and the streets were wet with a sudden

“ dew, as if the earth and the elements had

“ wept

“ wept at the sight of such barbarities. So
 “ said the Christians ; and perhaps we
 “ should have said the same, if we had li-
 “ ved then, and had been in their distressed
 “ condition. *I doubt not,*” says Eusebius,
 “ *that this will be called fiction and trifle by*
 “ *some readers ;* but he ventured to re-
 “ cord it. Nor is there any reason why he
 “ should be scorned and insulted on that
 “ account, though probably there was no-
 “ thing in it which did not arise from na-
 “ tural causes.”

This seems to allude to a passage in Dr
 Middleton, *Inquiry*, p. 128. “ A descrip-
 “ tion of this kind,” says he, “ might ea-
 “ sily be excused in an orator or a poet ;
 “ but when an historian, after he has raised
 “ our attention, and prepared us to expect
 “ something great and miraculous, tells us
 “ *only of stones shedding tears for the impi-*
 “ *eties of men,* he debases the gravity of
 “ history,

" history, and makes miracles themselves
 " contemptible."

It may be some apology for Dr Middleton's warmth, that, in his opinion, Eusebius, by thus debasing the gravity of history, *made miracles themselves contemptible*. But indeed Dr Middleton took alarm too suddenly; for the style of a writer on miracles can never make miracles themselves contemptible.

We return to the narrative of Eusebius. That the air was moist, and that the ground became damp, while the sky seemed to be clear and serene, cannot properly be termed a thing wonderful; yet there is no cause for suspecting the veracity of Eusebius, although there may be much cause for wonder at his inattention to the ordinary appearances of things.

A minute circumstance, mentioned by Eusebius himself, shews that there was nothing preternatural in this moisture. He
 1 says,

says, " That *most* of the pillars [οἱ πλείους] " sent forth drops resembling tears." Why *most*? because, according to the different texture of the stones, the pillars would be palpably wet, or would seem dry.

Virgil says, " Et mœstum illacrymat templis ebur, æraque sudant." The truth of the fact mentioned by Virgil is what hardly any one denies, except Spenser, *Of Prodigies*, p. 106. who objects, that Virgil was a Heathen, and a poet; yet I suppose that in our age such appearances will not be ranked among prodigies, however they might have been considered in the times of Julius Cæsar. We can grant that ivory and brazen statues became wet, without acknowledging, that ivory wept for the impieties of men, or that brass sweated from the apprehension of impending calamities.

And here let it be observed, in passing, that Eusebius does not, like the poet, assert in his own person, that the stones wept for the

the impieties of men : he only reports it as a common saying amongst those of Cæſarea.

Dr Jortin obſerves, that Conſtantine ſeems to allude to this event in his ediſt, *ap. Euseb. Vit. Constant. ii. 52.* But the alluſion is hardly diſcernible. Conſtantine ſays, “ that, no doubt, through ſorrow for
“ the ſpectacle, the light of day itſelf was
“ wrapt up;” or, “ the ſun was darkened.”
[ἡ γὰρ μὲν ἡμέρα αὐτῇ τῷ πενθεὶ θαύματος ἐνεκα-
λύπητο.] which is juſt the reverſe of what Eusebius relates. Indeed it ſhould ſeem that Conſtantine ſpeaks not of things which really happened, but only of things which, rhetorically ſpeaking, might be ſuppoſed to have happened.

Pag. 55. l. 15.

“ Reproach of men *inexorable*.” [φύσεως ἀτίγνυς], literally, “ of a nature not to be
“ moiſtened.” A poetical expreſſion. The

I. 2

meaning;

meaning is, " wood and stone could *weep*,
 " but men looked on with *dry eyes*." Pro-
 bably this antithesis was intended.

Pag. 56. l. 11.

" Those men had gone forth to minister
 " unto the Confessors in Cilicia." [στειλά-
 μνοι]; properly, " sent themselves forth;"
 but that phrase is hardly admissible in Eng-
 lish. It was a noble spirit of Christian be-
 nevolence which excited those men to make
 a perilous journey from Egypt into Cilicia,
 for the purpose of comforting their afflicted
 brethren.

Pag. 57. l. 7.

" Promus." Valesius says, that he knows
 not any such name, and therefore he pro-
 poses to read *Probus*. But to reject every
 name which is not elsewhere known, would
 be to make strange havoc in Martyrologies.
Promus [Clerk of the pantry, or house-
 steward], from being the name of an office,
 might naturally become an appellative a-
 mong

mong the vulgar, in the same way as *Gellaria*, which occurs in *Gruter. Inscript.* p. 656. N^o 7.

Pag. 58. l. 7.

“ Asclepius, a bishop after the error of
 “ Marcion.” “ *Peter*,” says Tillemont,
 “ *went to heaven, and Asclepius to hell-fire;*”
 “ but Eusebius more decently and moderate-
 “ ly says, “ *With Peter, Asclepius suffered,—*
 “ *through a zeal, as he thought, for piety;*
 “ *but not for that which is according to*
 “ *knowledge: however, they were consumed*
 “ *in one and the same fire.*” See *Fortin*,
 vol. ii. p. 329. 330. If the Roman Catho-
 lics hold the intercession of all martyrs, it
 should seem that they are, in some sort, ob-
 liged to hold, that no heretic can be a
 martyr: but still there might be some dis-
 tinction in favour of those heretics who are
 put to death for professing themselves Chri-
 stians.

Pag.

Pag. 59. l. 5.

“ Pamphilus.” Valeſius has added much, in his notes, concerning the ſufferings of Pamphilus from the work of Simeon Metaphraſtes. This was with the view of ſupporting a favourite hypotheſis, “ That the “ Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of Euſebius, as we “ now have it, is curtailed and imperfect.” But to detract from the authority of our copies of Euſebius is raſh : and it is much more probable, that the narrative in Simeon Metaphraſtes is extracted from Euſebius’s *Memoirs of Pamphilus*, than that it ever made a part of *the Hiſtory of the Martyrs in Paleſtine* : for it contains a detail of circumſtances reſpecting Pamphilus ; whereas Euſebius, in this 11th chapter, profeſſes that he will not inſert ſuch detail in his *Hiſtory of the Martyrs*.

Be this as it may, the narrative in Simeon Metaphraſtes is curious, and contains ſome things

things which one would not have looked for in the collections of that writer.

Pag. 59. l. 5.

“ My best-beloved *Pamphilus*.” [ἀμφὶ τὸ τριπρόθετον ἔμοιγε ὄνομα Παμφίλου]. These words admit not of a literal translation into English. In expression and numbers they are poetical.

Pag. 59. l. 10.

“ The only one adorned with the dignity of presbyter.” Eusebius adds, “ in Cæsarea;” but, in order to avoid ambiguity, these words are left out of the translation. The historian meant not to say, that the only presbyter of Cæsarea in the number of the twelve martyrs was Pamphilus; but that Pamphilus, a presbyter of Cæsarea, was the only presbyter in the number of the twelve martyrs.

Pag. 59. l. 17.

“ For his strict and philosophical demeanour.” [φιλοσόφῳ πολιτεία καὶ ἀκήσσει].

It

It seems singular, that Eusebius, after having enumerated the Christian graces of Pamphilus, should thus close his panegyric. In this, as well as in other passages of his work, Eusebius shews an excessive reverence for the character of *philosopher*. The truth is, and it is a most unhappy truth, that the learned Christians of the early ages of the church, being imbued with the *knowledge* of the Gentiles, were apt to receive the *prejudices* of the Gentiles in favour of their teachers. From respect of *teachers*, to partiality for the *tenets* of those *teachers*, the passage is short; and how soon, and how easily it was made, *they* know who are acquainted with ecclesiastical history.

Pag. 61. l. 6.

“Conversant in the divine writings.” There is some confusion in the words of the original; and critics do not agree as to the genuine reading. It must be admitted, that there is something either wanting or
redundant

redundant in the passage. Valesius thinks that some words are wanting, and that they must be added in order to complete the sense. But a learned friend of mine thinks, that the repeated, *τῆς*, is redundant; and that, *εἰ ποτε λάβοι*, is the same as, *εἰ ποτε καὶρὸς λάβοι*.

Pag. 61. l. 14.

“Jamnia.” Eusebius says, “the city of “the *Jamnita*.” But as the *Jamnita*, or the inhabitants of *Jamnia*, were not a people distinct from the rest of Phœnicia, the word *Jamnia* was preferred in the translation. The place here alluded to is in the near neighbourhood of Joppa, and is well known in antiquity. It is called *Jabneb* in 2 Chr. c. xxvi. v. 6; but by the Greeks, *Jamnia*, or *Jamneia*. It is said to have been πόλις, πολίχνιον, κώμη; but however authors may have differed by denominating it a city, a lesser city, or a village, it was undoubtedly a very populous place. Philo,

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Legat.

Legat. ad Caium, represents it to have been
 “ among the cities the most abounding in
 “ inhabitants.” [ἐν ταῖς μάλιστα πολυάνθρω-
 πος]. And, lest the authority of Philo, as
 being a Jew, should be disputed, a passage
 of Strabo, l. xvi. may be appealed to as
 affording evidence impartial and unexcep-
 tionable. “ This region,” says he, “ is so
 “ populous, that from the adjacent village
 “ of *Jamneia*, and the neighbourhood a-
 “ round, forty thousand [four myriads]
 “ have been brought in arms.” [Καὶ δὴ καὶ
 εὐάνδρησεν ὅτος ὁ τόπος, ὥς τ' ἐκ τῆς πλησίων
 κώμης Ἰαμνείας καὶ τῶν κατοικιῶν τῶν κύκλῳ
 τετταρας μυριάδας ὀπλίζεσθαι.] Strabo wrote
 in the reign of Tiberius; and if his autho-
 rity as to the ancient state of that country
 is held probable, we may judge of the au-
 thority of those moderns who assert with
 much confidence, that the number of its
 inhabitants must have been always inconfi-
 derable.

Pag. 61. l. 14.

“Most active in business.” [ὁ δραμεργότατος]. As the words which follow allude to Rom. c. xii. v. 11. it is probable, that the first part of the character alludes to what St Paul in the same passage mentions : τῇ σπᾶδῇ μὴ ἄκηροί, rendered in our vulgar translation, “not slothful in business.”

Pag. 61. l. 18.

“Endured the searing of heated irons.” This circumlocution was necessary, because “cauteries” is not a word known in common speech.

Pag. 64. l. 6.

“That Jew,” &c. The phrase is obscure. Eusebius, probably, meant, that those Egyptians, by assuming names from the history of the Old Testament, gave testimony to their belief in its promises. Valesius thus prints the passage : [τὸν ἐν κρυπ-
τῷ Ἰουδαίων γνήσιον τε καὶ ἐλικρινῶς Ἰσραὴλ τῷ
Θεῷ κ. τ. ε.]; yet he approves of a differ-

ent reading, [τὸν ἐν χρυπτῷ Ἰσραὴλιν], and seems to have followed it in his version. In order to make the sense perspicuous, we should read, “ τὸν Ἰσραηλ : ” and then the latter part of the sentence will allude to Galat. c. vi. v. 16. as the former part does to Rom. c. ii. v. 29.

Valesius adds, that the words, “ τῷ Θεῷ ” ought to be omitted as superfluous, because *Israel* by itself, means one *who sees God*. But, even admitting this etymology to be unexceptionable, the observation of Valesius is crude and rash. St Paul has used that very expression which the critic reprobates; and, whatever might have been the etymology of the word *Israel*, there could be no impropriety in saying, that *Israel*, either considered as a believing nation, or as a believing individual, was *the Israel of God*; that is, “ accepted by God,” or “ favoured by Heaven.”

Pag. 65. l. 5.

“ In inquiring exactly *where* that city “ was.” There are some who think it strange, that the name of *Jerusalem* should have been unknown to Firmilianus. But it is to be observed, that the city erected on the ruins of *Jerusalem*, or in the near neighbourhood of those ruins, had universally the name of *Ælia*; and that it is so called by Eusebius himself, in this very chapter. See also the notes of Valesius. p. 61. Even the Arabs, although wonderfully tenacious of ancient names, have admitted the more recent name of *Ælia* into their language. See *Reland*, *Palestina*, v. ii. p. 835.

Besides, the ancient capital of Judea had an appellation amongst the Christians of the East considerably different from that given to it by the Greeks and the Romans. One, acquainted with the word *Hierosolyma*, or *Hierosolymæ*, would not necessarily conclude, that the same place was signified by
the

the words, *Schalem*, *Jeruschalaim*, or *Jeruschalem*. If, in the last century, a person at his examination before the President of the North had declared, that *Everwick* was the place of his birth, and *Nicole* of his residence, it is more than probable, that that magistrate would not have discovered *York* and *Lincoln* under such antiquated disguises.

Perhaps the Egyptian, instead of employing the word *Jerusalem* in any shape, made answer, in his affected and figurative style, That he was of ΑΓΙΑΠΟΛΙΣ, or of ΕΠΟΥΡΑΝΙΗΠΟΛΙΣ, [the *holy city*, or the *heavenly city*]; and if he did so, his language must have been unintelligible to Firmilianus.

Pag. 66. l. 2.

“ He continued to discourse after his own philosophical and refined sense.” [κατὰ τὸν ἴδιον νῦν ἐφιλοσόφει.] “ He *philosophised* according to his own fancy.” But
“ he

“ he *allegorised*” would have been a more proper expression. Eusebius, possibly, alludes to the jargon of the later Platonists, which, with many things of no greater worth, obtained the name of *philosophy*.

Pag. 66. l. 4.

“ Inattentive.” [μηδ' αὖτις ἐπιστροφὴν ποιη-
μενος.] The phrase properly signifies, “ not
“ taking cognisance of,” or “ not animad-
“ verting on.” It is applied here in a sin-
gular manner.

Pag. 66. i. 7.

“ To feel none of those pains.” [Ὁὐδ'
ἐπαίειν δοκῶν τῶν ἀλγηδόνων.] Literally, “ Not
“ to listen to his pains.”

Pag. 66. l. 9.

“ Restless.” [ἐσφάδαζεν.] The word in
the original expresses the impatience of a
horse to move forwards. It is the *stare loco*
nescit of Virgil.

Pag. 66. l. 18.

“ 'This resolute person.” [τὸν νεανίαν],
which

which implies, either, "a young person," or, "a resolute person." — Eusebius dwells too long on the misunderstanding between the judge and the prisoner. The obstinacy of the one, in describing the spiritual characters of what he called "his native city," and the perplexed ignorance of the other, busied in searching for *that* city where it could not be found, exhibit a scene somewhat ludicrous, and hardly consistent with the gravity of historical narrative. An author of more correct taste would have mentioned the incident, but without dwelling on it. Here, however, as on many other occasions, the injudicious selection of circumstances adds to the credibility, while it detracts from the graces of the story.

Pag. 68. l. 15.

"Instead of shewing mercy." The sentence, probably, imported, that the bodies of the condemned persons should be exposed on a scaffold or gibbet; and, therefore,
this

this poor young slave offended, by speaking in court for the mitigation of a sentence already pronounced. Venial faults these, and which a humane judge would have overlooked for the honour of humanity !

Pag. 68. l. 20.

“ As if stricken with a dart.” The historian, in forcible language, likens this furious judge to a wild beast wounded.

Pag. 69. l. 6.

“ To be harrowed.” [*καταξάινεσθαι*.] Literally, “ To be carded as wool.”

Pag. 69. l. 20.

“ So he who came last to the combat,” &c. The meaning is, that Pamphilus and his companions were brought to trial sooner than Porphyrius, but that Porphyrius suffered death sooner than they.

Pag. 70. l. 6.

“ Then might one have beheld,” &c. Here there occurs a sentence of such excessive prolixity, that it seemed necessary to

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divide

divide it in the translation. The exordium of the narrative is elegant; but there follows a description of the philosophical garb of Porphyrius, which is somewhat puerile.

Pag. 72. l. 19.

“ Changed his condition of soldier.”
[μετὰ τὴν τῆς στραθείας ἀπαλλαγὴν.] “ After
“ the change of his military service.” Eusebius, probably, means to contrast the service of Seleucus in the armies of Rome, with his warfare under the banners of Jesus Christ.

Pag. 73. l. 1.

“ Of those who exercise themselves in
“ godliness.” [τῶν τῆς θεοσεβείας ἀσκητῶν.]
Valesius justly explodes the opinion of those who imagine that *Monks* are here meant; and he observes, that, at that time, such an order of men was unknown in Palestine. Indeed the description given of the active virtues of Seleucus bears no resemblance to
the

the solitary and contemplative life of a recluse.

Pag. 73. l. 8.

“ Worthy of the vocation unto martyrdom.” [παράδοξον κλήσεως ἡξιώθη.] The epithet παράδοξον, being of ambiguous meaning, is omitted by the translator : it may either imply the excellency and eminence of the state of martyrs, or it may relate to that sudden and *unexpected* manner in which Seleucus was called to suffer death.

Pag. 73. l. 16.

“ As it should seem, the chief gate having been unbarred.” It is impossible to vindicate this rhetorical description, which would have been hardly tolerable in a Greek homily : neither will the qualifying phrase, *as it should seem*, [ὥς ἔοικε], atone for the strange impropriety of the context.

Pag. 74. l. 11.

“ Amongst his fellow-servants.” In the original it is, “ amongst them.” A literal

translation would have occasioned ambiguity. Instead of [περὶ αὐτοῦ], another reading has been suggested, [περὶ αὐτοῦ], that is, “ with Firmilianus himself.”

Pag. 74. l. 15.

“ More exasperated.” In the original it is, ἐξυράς ; which implies, that the appearance of Theodulus, who was of the household of the Governor, did more *exasperate*, *sharpen*, or *fret*, his master, than the appearance of any other of the accused Christians had done. The reason is obvious. Firmilianus feared that the authority and example of Theodulus might excite his fellow-servants to become Christians ; and this would have reduced the Governor to the alternative, either of destroying his slaves, a very valuable part of property, or of conniving at the violation of the Imperial edict, in order to preserve them. Besides, it is probable, that his self-importance was hurt by the presumption of one of his own household,

household, in thus contradicting his commands.

Pag. 75. l. 10.

“ Tabernacles.” [σκηνώματα], that is, the body, considered as the temporary residence of an immortal soul. The word in the like metaphorical sense is in 2 Pet. c. i. v. 13. 14.; and to that passage, probably, Eusebius alludes. The energy of the word *tabernacle*, when thus applied, will be better understood by a soldier, who passes a short campaign under the covert of a tent, or by a mountaineer, who erects a summer’s booth for the purpose of tending his cattle, than by those who dwell in entailed palaces.

Pag. 76. l. 10.

“ In company with Pamphilus.” Valerius translates the passage, “ qui in subeundo
 “ martyrio *comites* Pamphili *esse* meruerunt;”
 as if the honour did not consist in suffering
 martyrdom,

martyrdom, but in suffering it at the same time that Pamphilus did.

Pag. 79.

Chap. xii. This chapter has been strangely misunderstood, and inferences have been drawn from it to the discredit of the writer. Mr Gibbon says, " The gravest of the ecclesiastical historians, Eusebius himself, indirectly *confesses*, that he has related whatever might redound to the glory, and that he has *suppressed* all that could tend to the disgrace, of religion. Such an acknowledgment will naturally excite a suspicion, that a writer who has so openly violated one of the fundamental laws of history, has not paid a very strict regard to the observance of the other." That is, in plain blunt English, " The historian who admits that he suppresses truth, may well be suspected of telling lies." There is added in a note, " Such is the fair deduction from two remarkable passages in Eusebius,"

“ febius,” l. viii. c. 2.; and *De Martyr. Palestin.* c. 12.

In the version of Valefius the words of Eusebius are much more forcible than the words used by the author himself. In l. viii. c. 2. Valefius renders [ἐχ' ἡμέτερον διαγράφειν], “ *Nefas mihi esse duco:*” whereas the literal sense is, “ It is not *mine* to describe.” He also renders [ἐχ' ἡμῖν οἰκεῖον μνήμη παραδίδοναι], “ *Nec commemorare nobis decorum sit:*” whereas the words seem to signify, “ It is not my concern or business to deliver to memory, it does not fall within the plan of my work:” [ἡμῖν ἀλλότριον].

In c. xii. *De Martyr. Palest.* the words of the version of Valefius are, “ Cum igitur proposito nostro maximè congruat, ea dicere, ac scribere, et fidelium aurbus commendare, quæ in religione nostra gravia atque honesta sunt, et quæcunque ad laudem et gloriam pertinent.” But the original is somewhat different, and the words

words ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅσα σεμνὰ καὶ ἔυφημα κατὰ τὸν ἱερόν λόγον κ. τ. ε. mean, that Eusebius proposed to treat of “ whatsoever things, according to holy writ, [Philip. iv. 8.], are “ lovely, and of good report; and if there “ be any virtue, or any praise,” &c.

The fair meaning of Eusebius is, that the purpose of his work was, to describe the virtues of the martyrs, and their admirable constancy under sufferings.

Had Eusebius undertaken to write a history of the corruptions prevalent in the Christian church at the æra of the great and last persecution, and had he written it in an imperfect or partial manner, he might have been accused of the violation of one of the great laws of history; and it would have made no difference whether he had *confessed* his purpose of giving an imperfect or partial account, or whether his readers had detected his prevarication and bad faith; unless, perhaps, it might be said, that he
who

who acknowledges his intention of *suppressing* the truth, is less culpable than he who suppresses it under specious protestations of impartiality.

But Eusebius did not undertake to write a history of the corruptions in the Christian church at the æra of the great and last persecution : on the contrary, he proposed to confine his work to the delineating the heroic perseverance of the martyrs ; and he began with declaring, in express words, that he was not to write a history of the corruptions in the Christian church. To this declaration it is that he refers, *Mart. Palest.* c. 12. And Valesius rightly observes, that although a like sentiment occurs, *Hist. Eccles.* l. viii. c. 2. the reference is to a preface of that work, now lost.

Had Eusebius given a detail of the corruptions of the Christian church, of the careless and irregular ordination of bishops, and of the scandalous dissensions among the

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brethren,

brethren, the work would have been curious, but it would have been different from what he proposed to write.

An author, undertaking to relate the calamities of the Protestants under Mary Queen of England, would not have incurred any blame, although he had omitted the miserable disputes concerning forms and ceremonies which too much occupied the attention of the persecuted in those times.

Questions have occurred as to certain rights of authors; but, I suppose, that the right of an author to chuse his own subject has never been questioned; and when an author once chuses his subject, he ought to treat it in a regular, not a desultory, manner.

The work of Eusebius, if constructed on that plan which some of his readers propose, must have had a motley appearance. The ordination of illiterate or unworthy bishops would have been interwoven with the narrative

rative of the virtues and sufferings of Apphianus and Pamphilus; the dissensions among the brethren with the meek and benevolent prayer of the dying Paulus, and the fortitude of many martyrs with the defection of those men who esteemed rather this life than "the reproach of Christ." *Then* would Eusebius have been triumphantly censured for want of judgement and perspicuity, and for having given a tedious detail of frivolous controversies and ecclesiastical altercations, instead of a pure and genuine History of the Martyrs.

But Eusebius avoided this: he chose a subject, and he persevered in it, without bewildering himself and his readers, in digressions. If he ever deviates, it is but for a moment, and even then he does not lose sight of his subject.

In the same twelfth chapter, Eusebius, by a well-known figure in rhetoric, hints at those corruptions and enormities which it

fell not within the purpose of his work particularly to describe. He says, that he will not mention them; and then, in few and forcible words, he exhibits a general view of them to his readers.

Pag. 79. l. 15. Pag. 80. l. 3.

“ Appointed—those presidents of churches—
“ es—to the superintendency of camels.”

[τῆς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν προεστώτας — καμήλων φροντιστάς — προεστήσατο.] The expression is

lively, but rather too satirical and insulting.

“ The *presidents* of churches were by divine

“ justice appointed to the *presidentship* of ca-

“ mels;” that is, “ they were more fit to

“ be *camel-drivers* than *bishops*.” In every

province there were camels and horses, the

property of the Emperor, for supplying public

exigencies: the unhappy men mentioned

by Eusebius, appear to have been employed

in tending those animals.

Pag. 80. l. 4.

“ Brutish and deformed animals.” The

original

original is oddly expressed, " A brute animal, and in the nature of its body most crooked." [ἀλόγε καὶ τῇ τῷ σώματος φύσει σκολιῶσ' αἶνε ζῶν.] This reproach, on the nature and form of camels, is introduced merely for the sake of the contrast with " the rational flocks of Christ."

Pag. 80. l. 10.

" Underwent." Literally, " exhausted." [ἀννητλήκασι] This is a very difficult passage. The words naturally imply, that the bishops of whom Eusebius speaks with such scorn, endured grievous hardships because they would not surrender the goods of the church which were committed to their custody and charge. This behaviour would have been honourable and praise-worthy; and yet it is plain that Eusebius, in his twelfth chapter, meant not to record any thing to the honour and praise of those bishops. The only interpretation that occurs for reconciling the fact related with the
the

the purpose of the relator, is this, that the bishops, first of all, embezzled the goods of the ruined church for their own private emolument, and, afterwards, were constrained by severities to surrender them to the Imperial officers.

Pag. 81. l. 8.

“ Declined.” [παρισμένω.] This, in common colloquial English, might be rendered aptly enough, “ I begged to be excused.”

Pag. 81. l. 15.

“ History of the admirable witnesses.” By what means Eusebius himself avoided those calamities which, as an eye-witness, he so accurately describes, is a question to be expected from every intelligent reader of ecclesiastical history.

Some indeed there are who see no necessity for such inquiries. Their maxim is, “ Our friends always act right :” A maxim containing the quintessence of many volumes ;

lumes ; and if they are reasonably well satisfied with the general strain of the sentiments of Eusebius, they will never ask how he could honourably avoid the common disasters.

How placid is the course of *his* reading who sees no difficulties ! Like the Camilla of Virgil,

Ille vel intacta segetis per summa volaret &c.

But as there are some who move too lightly over historical ground, so there are others who think, that, at every step, they have impediments to encounter. Such persons are constantly embarrassed ; they hesitate, and they know not what to believe. The former would never inquire how Eusebius escaped, and the latter would suspect, that he owed his safety to a sinful compliance with the rites of Paganism.

There is a medium between that disposition of mind which satisfies itself without inquiry,

inquiry, and that which, after every inquiry, still remains unsatisfied.

The persecution in Palestine, begun by Diocletian, and continued by Galerius and Maximin Daza, was not the united effort of policy and superstition against a new sect, inconsiderable in its numbers. It took its rise from the passionate and hasty counsels of Emperors who appear to have been ignorant of the true state of things in their extensive dominions.

In Palestine, particularly, many men had embraced the Christian faith; and, it is probable, that there were many more who despised the tenets and ceremonies of Paganism; for such is the temper of mankind previous to mighty changes in religion. Paganism, an engine of state-policy, could not be made to act with its full energy, unless when the state gave incessant attention to all its wheels; but the skill requisite for directing a machine so complicated, was not to be found

found amongst those mean and barbarous adventurers who now governed the empire.

They imagined that the Christian religion might be suppressed like a sudden mutiny in armies, and therefore they issued sanguinary edicts, commanding "that all men should cease to be Christians, and should worship the gods of the state."

In such a province as Palestine, where the religion of Jesus had taken deep root, this impetuous severity was, perhaps, unpopular. The Heathens were connected with the Christians in blood, friendship, and common society; and it is evident from the writings of Eusebius, that they often pitied the calamities of the sufferers. We may reasonably suppose, that this compassion would induce them, as they had opportunity, to favour the concealment of many of their Christian acquaintance, and to aid their flight from one city to another. But the

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detail

detail of those things is not to be looked for in the history of Eusebius, who professes to relate the sufferings of the Christians, and not the means by which any of them escaped the extremities of persecution.

From the character of Galerius and Maximin Daza it may be inferred, that the governors appointed by them were men of rude manners : and, no doubt, they had emoluments arising from the confiscation of the effects of the criminals, and even from the sentences which adjudged them to work in the mines. Nevertheless we see that the edicts were reiterated and enforced from time to time. This shews that the alacrity of the governors in executing their bloody task did not keep pace with the violence of the Imperial court. And indeed we learn from chap. i. of *the Martyrs in Palestine*, that sometimes the Governors, or their subordinate ministers, made a very imperfect inquisition into the behaviour of the Christians,

ffians, and were willing to overlook the spirit, if not the letter, of the edicts.

In such circumstances a prudent and inoffensive person, of no eminent rank, might, without any dishonourable compliance, escape unobserved.

Eusebius, as a man of letters, may have found friends to interest themselves for him, and even to purchase his safety. We know, that on a particular occasion all the Christian prisoners, save one, were released; and it is not improbable, that the same sort of indulgence might have been repeated.

Besides, we learn accidentally, that, during the persecution, Eusebius removed from one country to another; that he was in Phœnicia, b. 8. c. 7. and in Egypt, b. 8. c. 9. This judicious and evangelical conduct enabled him to elude the fury of the persecutors, which must have been chiefly directed against the inhabitants of the dif-

ferent territories where the edicts were promulgated.

Had the persecution ceased after five years, Pamphilus, the most eminent of the Christians at Cæsarea, would have escaped death, without "having made shipwreck of the faith;" and had the persecution lasted more than eight years, Eusebius might, possibly, have suffered martyrdom. In the course of calamities which endure long, some men must suffer earlier, and some later. This surely will be admitted; for the contrary proposition implies an absurdity.

If Eusebius could not have escaped unless by some sinful compliance, neither could any other imprisoned Christian of Palestine, who, without loss of eyes, or maiming of limbs, survived the persecution. But this inference is extravagant, and cannot be true.

"It was well known," says Mr Gibbon,
 "that Eusebius had been thrown into pri-
 son;

“ son ; and it was suggested, that he had
 “ purchased his deliverance by some disho-
 “ nourable compliance. The reproach was
 “ urged in his lifetime, and even in his pre-
 “ sence, at the council of Tyre. See *Tille-*
 “ *mont*, *Memoires Ecclesiastiques*, tom. viii.
 “ part i. p. 67.”

Instead of examining Tillemont, I shall trace this story to the works of Athanasius and Epiphanius, where Tillemont found it.

Athanasius, in his second Apologetical discourse against the Arians, quotes an œconomical or general epistle from the bishops of Egypt assembled in council at Alexandria.

This precious fragment of Ecclesiastical History affords matter for divers observations. “ What a council of bishops,” says the council at Alexandria, “ and what an
 “ assembly of men holding the truth !
 “ *which* of the majority was not our e-
 “ nemy ? Did not Eusebius and his asso-
 “ ciates,

ciates, maddened with Arianism, impetuously assault and overbear us; and did they not draw along with them others to concur in their opinions? Did not we, in our despatches, incessantly represent them as favourers of the tenets of Arius? and *was not Eusebius of Casarea in Palestine accused by our confessors of having sacrificed?*"

1. Here it will be observed, that, by means of repeated interrogations, historical propositions assume a declamatory form. Such was the faulty style of that age: Imperial edicts, didactic discourses, and even letters of business, had a rhetorical appearance.

2. For discovering the real sentiments of the writers, we ought to divest their language of all fashionable ornaments, and exhibit it in the shape of simple narrative; for, however men may speak, they do not think in tropes and figures.

The narrative of the Egyptian bishops, in plain

plain language, will run thus : “ The council at Tyre was not an assembly of bishops impartial and orthodox ; for every man of the majority in that council was our enemy. Eusebius, the president, and his associates, were Arians : they violently overbore us, and they drew others along with them to concur in their opinions. Our despatches, written at the time, ceased not to represent, that the leaders in that assembly were of unsound principles : and indeed those men were of so bad report, that *our* confessors openly accused Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea, of having sacrificed to idols.”

3. From this epistle we may with certainty conclude, that *the Eusebius* who presided at the council of Tyre was a different person from Eusebius Pamphilus, bishop of Cæsarea. The Egyptian bishops make that distinction between the two which many modern authors have overlooked : and if Eusebius

Eusebius of Cæsarea did not preside, we may be assured that Eusebius bishop of Nicomedia did.

4. There appears to have been a leading party in the council of Tyre, strengthened by the accession of some men, who, probably, did not pretend to understand the merits of the questions agitated in that council. This is so much in the common course of human things, that it is probable, although we have only the evidence of the enemies of that council for proof of it.

5. At the council of Tyre there was a diversity of sentiments, and the majority overruled the minority with a high hand.

6. Neither will it escape observation, that here an example occurs of the fond partiality which we are apt to entertain for persons of our own sect. "*Our confessors,*" say the Egyptian bishops, "accused Eusebius of apostasy." But, in truth, while the persecution raged, there was no question as to distinctions

distinctions between Orthodox and Arian. In the eyes of the Heathens, whoever refused to sacrifice to the gods of the state, was guilty of being a Christian; and Arius could not have avoided punishment, by pleading is speculations at a Roman tribunal.

7. No order was kept at the council of Tyre; for while the question was between Athanasius and his antagonists, Eusebius bishop of Cæsarea had a severe charge brought against him. We learn from Epiphanius, that Potamo bishop of Heracleopolis brought the charge, and that the president then adjourned the assembly. This shews that the president could not maintain order.

8. And here we may remark the additions and embellishments which a story receives in the relating. Epiphanius would not have omitted any credible circumstance tending to the discredit of Eusebius Pamphilus, a court-favourite, and one of dubi-

ous Orthodoxy; and yet the account which Epiphanius gives of what occurred at the council of Tyre runs thus. " The blessed
 " Potamo was zealous for truth and ortho-
 " doxy, a free speaker, and no respecter of
 " persons. In the persecution he had been
 " deprived of an eye for the cause of the
 " truth. When he perceived Eusebius sit-
 " ting in judgement, while Athanasius
 " stood, he, labouring under the weight of
 " affliction, and weeping, as sincere men
 " are wont, addressed himself in a loud
 " voice to Eusebius, *What*, said he, *Euse-*
 " *bius, do you sit, while Athanasius, guilt-*
 " *less as he is, is tried by you? Who can*
 " *endure this? Tell me, was you not in*
 " *prison together with me during the perse-*
 " *cution? As for me, I cast out an eye for*
 " *the truth's sake; but you appear without*
 " *any blemish: neither did you suffer mar-*
 " *tyrdom, for you are here alive, and no*
 " *wise mutilated. How could you escape*
 " *from*

“ from prison, unless you promised to our
 “ persecutors, that you would sacrifice, or
 “ unless you did sacrifice?” [εἰ μὴ ὅτι ὑπέσχε-
 τοῖς τὴν ἀναγκὴν τῷ διωγμῷ ἡμῶν ἐπενέγκασι τὸ
 ἀθέμιτον πράξαι, ἢ ἐπραξας.]

For the benefit of the unlearned reader,
 the material words shall be variously ren-
 dered. Thus, “ Unless you had promised
 “ to our persecutors to sacrifice, or did sa-
 “ crifice?”

Or, “ Could you have escaped from pri-
 “ son, unless you had promised to do, or
 “ had actually done, the unlawful thing?”

Or, “ Since you have come out of prison
 “ safe and sound, you must have promised
 “ to our persecutors, that you would sa-
 “ crifice; and perhaps you have sacri-
 “ ficed.”

The general import of the words is the
 same in all the versions; and it must be ad-
 mitted, that the zeal of Potamo led him to
 use very intemperate language, and hardly

consistent with the apostolical precepts. That “ the reproach of dishonourable compliance “ was urged against Eusebius, in his own “ presence,” is true : but then we ought to remember by *whom* it was urged ; by a man in a passion, who asserted nothing from his own knowledge, and who satisfied himself with making a declamatory charge : and this charge, it will be remarked, went on the illogical and erroneous supposition, that no Christian, if once imprisoned, could have escaped punishment, unless by means of a criminal compliance with the rites of Paganism.

The zeal and sufferings of Potamo might have intitled him to that respect which consists in making no answer to words that ought not to have been used ; and hard would the lot be of calm and prudent persons, if their silence on such occasions were to be interpreted as a confession of the truth of the words spoken. What Potamo said,

was

was contrary to the order observed in all well-regulated assemblies; and had Eusebius made any answer, it would only have served to increase the disorder; and, probably, it was on that account that the president adjourned the council.

We now see, how little reason there was for Tillemont, and other writers, to consider what passed at the council of Tyre as truly prejudicial to the character of Eusebius.

Valesius has treated of this subject, although with more brevity; and he draws the same conclusion that I do. “Cardinalis Baronius illud quasi certum ratumque arripuit, quod Eusebio per jurgium et altercationem objectum est ab ejus adversariis, nec ullius testimonio confirmatum.” *De vita et scriptis Eusebii Cæsariensis*, fol. 2. b.

Pag. 82. l. 10.

Who enjoyed much liberty.” For they
were

were permitted to worship God after their own manner. This is a privilege which every rational being arrogates to itself; and yet there are examples of its having been denied to Christians by Christians; on this principle, as I should suppose, "That it is better to have no religion at all, than to profess heterodox opinions."

Pag. 83. l. 20.

"The third, a presbyter." [πρεσβύτερος ἄλλος]. He is called *Helias* by the Greek martyrologists; and, possibly, *that* was the original reading in Eusebius.

Pag. 84. l. 3.

"PATERMUTHIUS." Mentioned by Photius, *Biblioth.* c. 118. as a chief person among the Christians condemned to the mines.

Pag. 85. l. 11.

JOHN." Eusebius, in treating of this singular person, deviates a little from his principal subject; yet still without losing sight of it. It is not certain from his narrative, whether

whether John had his eyes put out by the persecutors, or became blind through accident.

Pag. 88. l. 1.

“ A clear and positive argument.” Surely Eusebius might have discovered sufficient evidence of a proposition introduced with such solemnity of words, although he had never heard the scriptures rehearsed by a blind man.

Pag. 89. l. 17.

“ The various and diversified combats.” Some short notice of the circumstances of this tedious and severe persecution might have been looked for in the great work of Mr Gibbon ; but, as he himself informs us, “ he has purposely abstained from describing the particular sufferings and deaths of the Christian martyrs. It would have been an easy task, (says he), from the history of Eusebius, from the declamations of Lactantius, and from *the most ancient acts,*

“ *acts*, to collect a long series of horrid and
 “ disgusting pictures, and to fill many pages
 “ with racks and scourges, with iron hooks,
 “ and red-hot beds, and with all the va-
 “ riety of tortures which fire and steel, sa-
 “ vage beasts, and more savage execution-
 “ ers, could inflict on the human body.
 “ These melancholy scenes might be enli-
 “ vened by a croud of visions and miracles,
 “ destined either to delay the death, to ce-
 “ lebrate the triumph, or to discover the
 “ relics of those canonized saints who suf-
 “ fered for the name of Christ. But *I can-*
 “ *not determine what I ought to transcribe,*
 “ *till I am satisfied how much I ought to be-*
 “ *lieve.*” [p. 649.]

The words of Mr Gibbon imply, that *the*
most ancient acts delineate the particular suf-
 ferings of the Christian martyrs during that
 persecution which was first authorised by
 the edicts of Diocletian; — and is it indeed
 possible, that an author so eminently supe-
 rior

rior to base and vulgar prejudices, should have adopted the trite phrase of some publishers of Martyrologies? and does *he* believe, that those *most ancient acts* have been transmitted from the beginning of the fourth century to the present times, genuine and uncontaminated!

In selecting and publishing his *Acta Martyrum*, Ruinart was more scrupulous than some of his fellow-labourers; for he could not, like Jacobus à Voragine, Bollandus, Papebroch, and the rabble of Greek Martyrologists, digest iron and adamant; and yet no intelligent critic, I speak not merely of Protestants, will admit the authenticity of *the twentieth part* of the *Acta sincera Martyrum*, as published by Ruinart.

The stories, in particular, respecting the martyrdoms under Diocletian and his successors, are either grossly interpolated, or manifestly forged.

Mr Gibbon, it seems, “ is not *satisfied*

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“ how

“ how much of those *most ancient acts* he
 “ ought to believe.” But his readers in ge-
 neral are satisfied to disbelieve them all.

“ Visions *and* miracles” are mentioned in
 the passage now under consideration: it is
 uncertain whether Mr Gibbon meant to
 blend or to separate them; but, that no part
 of his propositions may be omitted, let us
 suppose that he meant to distinguish *visions*
 from *miracles*, although *six* causes of hesi-
 tation should thence arise, while possibly
 there are indeed only *three*.

His causes of hesitation, in their utmost
 latitude, are, that the following particulars
 appear related in *the most ancient acts*, in
 Lactantius, or in Eusebius:

- | | | | |
|--------------|---|---|-----------------------------|
| 1. Visions, | } | { | destined to delay the death |
| 2. Miracles, | | | |
| 3. Visions, | } | { | of the martyrs. |
| 4. Miracles, | | | |
| 5. Visions, | } | { | destined to celebrate their |
| 6. Miracles, | | | |
| | | | triumph. |
| | | | destined to discover their |
| | | | relics. |

With

With respect to *the most ancient acts*, they must be laid out of the question; for there are none such, in that age, of authentic credit.

And with respect to the testimony of Lactantius, it matters not whether Mr Gibbon's causes of hesitation were *six*, or only *three*; for Lactantius makes no mention whatever either of visions or of miracles!

And now one is led to inquire, why the visions and miracles recorded by forgers and interpolators in *the most ancient acts*, should detract from the credibility of Lactantius, who has not recorded any such visions or miracles?

“ Philip de Comines, and Varillas, have
 “ related the events of the reign of Lewis XI.
 “ King of France. The narrative of Va-
 “ rillas has a fabulous air, and therefore,
 “ until I am satisfied how much of it I
 “ ought to believe, I cannot determine what
 “ I ought to transcribe from the writings

“ of Philip de Comines.” This reasoning is not satisfactory.

There is another cause for not crediting the testimony of Lactantius, which, at first view, seems to be implied in the words of Mr Gibbon. He says, that “ he might “ have filled many pages with the *declamations* of Lactantius.” Mr Gibbon, however, cannot mean, that an author who writes in a declamatory style is unworthy of credit; for he himself, on other occasions, has not only appealed to the evidence of Lactantius, but has even quoted the panegyrics of the lower empire, men by profession *declaimers*.

But does the account of the last persecution, as given by Lactantius, indeed merit the name of *declamation*?

The learned reader will recollect, that the only passage in that account which can, with propriety, be termed *declamation*, is the address to Donatus, c. 16. *De mort. persecut.*; and

and that all the rest is of a style no more declamatory than that in which Tacitus relates the persecution of the Christians under Nero.

Mr Gibbon, in most elegant English, paraphrased the 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, and 14th chapters of the author *De mortibus persecutorum*, which relate "the beginning of sorrows," [p. 681.—686.]; and then he stopped abruptly, — "not being satisfied what he ought to believe."

Why should he have withheld his assent from "the racks, scourges, iron hooks, and red-hot beds," said to have been employed as instruments of torture in the reign of Diocletian, and of his associates and successors, while scepticism itself must acknowledge, that the very same instruments of torture were employed against the Christians of Gaul under the mild and envied administration of the Antonines?

Let us now inquire what circumstances
there

there are in the narrative of Eusebius to warrant all or any of the causes of hesitation in Mr Gibbon. — “ Visions destined to
 “ delay the death, or to celebrate the triumphs of the martyrs, and visions and
 “ miracles destined to discover their relics.”
 There are none.

And as to “ miracles destined to delay
 “ the death of the martyrs,” there is only one passage, in the account which Eusebius gives of the persecution, that can possibly be viewed in that light. It is a passage in b. viii. c. 7. Eusebius there says, that the wild beasts would not touch the martyrs at Tyre. As, however, he acknowledges, in many other passages, that the wild beasts actually devoured the bodies of the martyrs, we are authorized to ascribe that incident to some natural cause, perhaps to the shouts and tumult of the brutal spectators, which frightened the wild beasts. But, surely, the mention of such an incident could never afford

ford sufficient cause for rejecting the whole evidence of Eusebius, in a long and labour-ed history.

The only other cause of hesitation remaining is that which respects “ miracles “ destined to celebrate the triumph of the “ martyrs.” And here, it must be acknowledged, that Mr Gibbon alludes to some idle fictions in *the most ancient acts* ; for there is as little in Eusebius, as in Lactantius, which, fairly and candidly, can be supposed to have been under his view.

Pag. 90. l. 14.

“ They obtained peace.” By the moderate counsels of that excellent prince Constantius, surnamed *Chlorus*, the father of Constantine the Great.

Pag. 90. l. 15.

“ For the sake of their *singleness of heart*, “ and their faith.” [*τῆς των ἀνδρων ἀπλότητος* κ. τ. ε.]. “ Their simplicity and faith,” would have been an apter version ; but, in English,
the

the word *simplicity* is ambiguous ; and, when joined with *faith*, it might have afforded occasion for some sorry witticism, in the mouths of those who understand not the just sense either of the one word or of the other. — In this passage Eusebius seems to censure obliquely the scandalous dissensions which had prevailed in the East, and to contrast them with the candour of the Western church.

Pag. 90. l. 18.

“ And now,” &c. The sense of the original is clouded by many words. I am not sure whether I have rightly expressed the notion of the author ; nor, indeed, whether his notion is capable of being expressed in clear language.

Pag. 91. l. 10.

“ Our rulers.” Although Eusebius speaks of “ rulers,” yet it is plain, that Galerius alone is here meant. This affords a notable confirmation of what the author *De mortibus persecutorum*

persecutorum affirms, that the persecution was instigated by Galerius.

Pag. 92. l. 1.

“ *Edict of Galerius.*” This valuable monument of antiquity was only known by the version of Eusebius, until, in the last century, the treatise *De mortibus persecutorum* chanced to be discovered. In it the original edict is preserved, which is here translated. Eusebius, speaking with diffidence of his own version, says, that it was made “ according to the best of his ability,” [κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν].

Mr Gibbon prefixes some useful observations to his paraphrase of the edict. He says, “ The frequent disappointments of his “ ambitious views, the experience of six “ years of persecution, and *the salutary reflections which a lingering and painful dis- “ temper suggested* to the mind of Galerius, “ at length convinced him, that the most “ violent efforts of despotism are insufficient

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“ to

“ to extirpate a whole people, or to subdue
 “ their religious prejudices. *Desirous of re-*
 “ *pairing the mischief that he had occasioned,*
 “ he published — a general edict. — As
 “ these were the words of a dying Emperor,
 “ his situation, perhaps, may be admitted
 “ as a pledge of his sincerity.” [p. 695.
 696.]

The paraphrase of Mr Gibbon runs thus.
 “ Among the important cares which have
 “ occupied our mind for the utility and pre-
 “ servation of the empire, it was our inten-
 “ tion to correct and re-establish all things
 “ according to the ancient laws and public
 “ discipline of the Romans. We were par-
 “ ticularly desirous of reclaiming, into the
 “ way of reason and nature, the deluded
 “ Christians, who had renounced the reli-
 “ gion and ceremonies instituted by their
 “ fathers, and presumptuously despising the
 “ practice of antiquity, had invented extra-
 “ vagant laws and opinions according to
 “ the

“ the dictates of their fancy, and had col-
 “ lected a various society from the different
 “ provinces of our empire. The edicts
 “ which we have published to enforce the
 “ worship of the gods, having exposed
 “ many of the Christians to danger and di-
 “ stress, many having suffered death, and
 “ many more, who still persist in their *im-*
 “ *pious folly*, being left destitute of any pu-
 “ blic exercise of religion, we are disposed
 “ to extend to those *unhappy men* the effects
 “ of our wonted clemency. We permit
 “ them, therefore, freely to profess their
 “ private opinions, and to assemble in their
 “ *conventicles*, without fear or molestation,
 “ provided always that they preserve a due
 “ respect to the established laws and go-
 “ vernment. By another rescript we shall
 “ signify our intentions to the judges and
 “ magistrates; and we hope that our indul-
 “ gence will engage the Christians to offer
 “ up their prayers to the Deity whom they

“adore for our safety and prosperity, for
“their own, and for that of the republic.”

It should seem, that, in various particulars, this paraphrase deviates from the sense of the edict; and indeed it sometimes speaks of the Christians with more asperity and contempt than the Heathen Emperor does. Thus, *impious folly, unhappy men*, and the like, may be *implied*, but they are not *expressed*, in the original.

That the learned reader may judge for himself concerning the true sense of the edict, it is here inserted.

“Inter cetera, quæ pro reipublicæ sem-
“per commodis et utilitate disponimus, nos
“quidem volueramus antehac, juxta leges
“veteres, et publicam disciplinam Roma-
“norum, cuncta corrigere, atque id provi-
“dere, ut etiam Christiani, qui parentum
“suorum reliquerant sectam, ad bonas
“mentes redirent. Siquidem quadam ra-
“tione tanta eosdem Christianos voluntas
“invasisset,

“ invasisset, et tanta stultitia occupasset, ut
 “ non illa veterum instituta sequerentur,
 “ quæ forsitan primùm parentes eorum
 “ constituerant, sed pro arbitrio suo, atque
 “ ut hisdem esset licitum, ita sibi met leges
 “ facerent, quas observarent, et per diversa
 “ varios populos congregarent. Denique
 “ cum ejusmodi nostra jussio exstitisset, ut
 “ ad veterum se instituta conferrent, multi
 “ periculo subjugati, multi etiam deturbati
 “ sunt: atque cùm plurimi in proposito per-
 “ severarent, ac videremus, nec diis eos-
 “ dem cultum ac religionem debitam exhi-
 “ bere, nec Christianorum Deum observare,
 “ contemplationem mitissimæ nostræ cle-
 “ mentiæ intuentes, et consuetudinem sem-
 “ piternam, quâ solemus cunctis hominibus
 “ veniam indulgere, promptissimam in his
 “ quoque indulgentiam nostram credidimus
 “ porrigendam: ut denuo sint Christiani,
 “ et conventicula sua componant, ita ut ne
 “ quid contra disciplinam agant. Aliâ au-
 “ tem

“tem epistolâ judicibus significaturi sumus
 “quid debent observare. Unde juxta hanc
 “indulgentiam nostram, debebunt Deum
 “suum orare pro salute nostra, ut reipub-
 “licæ, ac suâ, ut undiqueversum respub-
 “lica perstet incolumis, et securi vivere in
 “sedibus suis possint.”

Mr Gibbon observes, [Note, p. 696.],
 that “neither Eusebius nor Lactantius seem
 “to recollect, how directly the edict con-
 “tradicts whatever they have affirmed of
 “the remorse and repentance of Galerius.”

Those authors do not affirm, that Gale-
 rius became a convert to Christianity; al-
 though he might have become sensible, that
 the Christians had *a God*. They say, that
 he repented, and recanted; that is, that he
 became sincerely grieved for what he had
 done, and wished that it could have been
 undone. To recal the slaughtered Christi-
 ans to life was impossible; but it was still
 possible to stay the persecution; and *this*
 Galerius

Galerius performed, in the most ample manner, by abrogating the edicts, and by granting liberty of conscience, and even tolerating the religious worship of the Christians.

If Philip II. King of Spain, *from the salutary reflections suggested by a lingering and painful distemper*, had issued an edict, like that of Galerius, in favour of his Protestant subjects in the Netherlands; and if, with probable *sincerity*, he had seemed *desirous of repairing the mischief that he had occasioned*, would not every Protestant historian have called such an edict *the recantation* of that sanguinary prince? And indeed what other name could they have bestowed on a measure so adverse to his natural disposition, his established system of policy, and that tenor of conduct in which he had so long persevered?

There are several remarkable passages in the edict of Galerius.

Pag.

Pag. 92. l. 14.

“ Instead of observing those ancient institutions which possibly their own forefathers had at first established.” [Ut non illa *veterum instituta* sequerentur, quæ *forſitan* primum parentes eorum constituerant]. This passage is not without ambiguity. If by *veterum instituta* the ancient institutions of Rome are understood, what is meant by the expression, “ which possibly [*forſitan*] their own forefathers had at first established?” and does the edict insinuate, that some persons of consular and senatorial families, abandoning the religion ratified by their forefathers, had embraced Christianity?

Perhaps the words might bear this sense, that the Christians of those times had departed from the primitive institutions of their church, and had become corrupted in faith and discipline. The concluding words of the sentence seem to allude to the schisms which

which already began to disgrace the Christian church.

But, in support of the former interpretation, it will be observed, that the edict afterwards uses *veterum instituta* for the rites of Paganism.

Pag. 93. l. 1.

“ Drew together into different societies
“ many men of widely different persuasions;”
[per diversa varios populos congregarent.] So Eusebius seems to have understood this obscure phrase. *ἐν διαφόροις διάφορα πλήθη συνάγειν*, are his words. Lardner, professing to translate from Eusebius’s version, thus renders the words: “ And in many places they drew
“ over multitudes of people to follow their
“ customs.” *Testimonies*, v. iii. p. 297.

Pag. 93. l. 8.

“ Subdued through the fear of danger;”
[Periculo subjugati]. The phrase is remarkable, implying, that the terror of persecution, although it might have filled the
R empire

empire with hypocrites, made no real converts to Gentilism. Something of a like nature happened after the revocation of the edict of Nantes ; but Madame de Maintenon piously and politically observed, “ That although the parents in *that age* were hypocrites ; yet, in *the next*, their children “ would be true members of the church.”

Pag. 93. l. 13.

“ Neither pay reverence and due adoration “ to the gods, nor yet worship their own “ God.” Mr Gibbon thus paraphrases the words of the edict. “ Many more who still “ persist in their *impious folly* being left destitute of any *public* exercise of their religion.” This free paraphrase neither expresses the words, nor conveys the spirit, of the original. From the expression of the paraphrase one might be led to conclude, “ that every Christian who did not claim “ the *public* exercise of his religion, might “ persist privately in his *impious folly* ;” yet there

there seems to be nothing of that import in the original.

The growth of irreligion, mentioned in the edict, is one of the certain consequences of a persecuting system: few persecutors, however, have had the candor to acknowledge it.

Pag. 94. l. 1.

“ The places of their religious assemblies;” [Et *conventicula* sua component]. It is well known, that, in the language of those times, *conventiculum* had not the mean and ludicrous signification of *conventicle* in burlesque English. Lactantius, *Instit.* l. 5. c. 11. speaks of the *conventiculum* in Phrygia which the Heathens burnt, together with the congregation in it: *this* Mr Gibbon justly renders by the word *church*, p. 688. Why the same word should, in his paraphrase of the edict, be rendered *conventicle*, it is hard to say.

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Pag.

Pag. 94. l. 7.

“ It will be the duty of Christians, — to
 “ pray to their God.” Until that moment
 the very name of *Christian* was held worthy
 of capital punishment: but the Christians
 are now permitted, and they are, in some
 sort, required, to assemble themselves in re-
 ligious worship, and to pray for the welfare
 of Galerius.

The author *De mortibus persecutorum*,
 l. 33. says, “ Tandem, malis victus, Galerius
 “ Deum coactus est confiteri: novi doloris
 “ urgentis per intervalla exclamat, se resti-
 “ turum Dei templum, fatisque pro scelere
 “ facturum, et jam deficiens edictum mi-
 “ fit.”

This has been considered as rashly said in
 the spirit of declamation. It seems to be
 merely the truth, related by a person fully
 acquainted with the circumstances of an e-
 vent, which, in its own nature, could not be
 hid.

That

That Galerius might have been touched with remorse for the blood that he had shed, will not be denied ; unless there should appear any one hardy enough to justify the extravagancies of the persecution itself, and to hold them to be proofs of political wisdom never to be repented of.

It is admitted, that Galerius, under the tortures of an excruciating disease, did publish an edict, undoing, as much as in him lay, the work of many years, and granting liberty of conscience, and even toleration, to the Christians.

We cannot doubt, that he was constrained to confess the God of the Christians ; for he himself, in his edict, requires the Christians to pray for his welfare, or health, to *their God*.

Neither can we doubt that he promised to restore the religious worship of that God, [*se restitutum Dei templum*], when we see
from

from the edict, that he actually performed that promise in its full extent.

And if, after all this, it should still be doubted, whether Galerius promised to make satisfaction for his crime, [*satis pro scelere facturum*]; we may remark, that the author *De mortibus persecutorum* might, in his narrative, say, that Galerius promised to make satisfaction for his crime; although he only promised to make satisfaction, without acknowledging a *crime*: so that the addition of that word will be no more than a natural inference from the fact.

Molheim, *De reb. Christian.* p. 956. to 958. gravely observes, that Galerius, in his edict, adopts the principles and language of Paganism, and reprobates the Christian religion; and hence he seems to conclude, that the edict bears not those characters of remorse and recantation which Eusebius and the author *De mortibus persecutorum* suppose to be stamped on it.

This

This observation hardly deserves an answer, were it not on account of the name of Mosheim.

The *order* for issuing the edict proceeded from the Emperor; but its *preamble*, and its *narrative*, must have been the work of his counsellors. It was impossible to have expressed in apter words the remorse and recantation of Galerius, unless the edict, besides a toleration of Christianity, had also contained the abolition of the rites of Paganism; a thing not to be looked for in an edict commanded by a Heathen emperor, and drawn up by counsellors who professed the religion of Rome.

A P.

A P P E N D I X.

I Take this opportunity of correcting some errors in the second volume of *Remains of Christian Antiquity*. If more had been pointed out to me, I should, thankfully, have acknowledged more.

P. 49. l. 18. and in various other places, for "it would seem," read "it seems."

P. 60. l. 20. for "aversion at" read "aversion from."

P. 150. The last paragraph ought to be omitted; for we learn from the works of Origen, that the word ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΣ, altho' not generally used, was known even in his age.

P. 170. to the note concerning the word *Galileans* it is proper to add, that Bishop Sherlock, *Sermons*, vol. iv. disc. 13. favours that hypothesis to which Dr Lardner alludes, and which Mr Gibbon enforces. But neither his *arguments*, nor the authority of his *name*, move me to recede from the *vulgar* opinion.

F I N I S. +

